TOPICALITY IN KOREAN — A DISCOURSE-FUNCTIONAL APPROACH: A CASE OF *–NUN*, *–NUNTEY* AND *–ISSCANHA*

By

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A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

2001

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents,
who always knew I could do it.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank all of the individuals who made possible my graduate study and the writing of this dissertation. They all provide me with the guidance and support necessary to make a seemingly unattainable goal finally attained. Like any dissertation, this one is the final result of the efforts not just from myself, but from all those involved.

My first and foremost gratitude goes to my dissertation supervisor Chauncey C. Chu. He led me to the Gator land and to grow professionally and personally throughout all my graduate years. It is his fresh and straightforward perspective that sparked my interest in Discourse Grammar. His writings and teachings have influenced me greatly in my way of thinking about language in general and the Korean language in particular. This research has benefited greatly from the many discussions we have had and his get-to-the-point commentary on my work. I know that supervising a foreign student doubled his work load: not only did he guide my research, but also took care of my English style. He tirelessly read and re-read the many drafts of my dissertation, offering constructive criticisms and asking insightful questions.

Many thanks go to Professor Bill Sullivan and Professor Haig Der-Houssikian for their services as members of my dissertation committee, and for being a moral inspiration throughout my years of graduate education. They have carefully read the first draft of the dissertation and provided me with many detailed constructive comments and useful suggestions. My sincere appreciation goes to the other members

of my committee Professor Roger Thompson, and Professor Paul Chun for their unique support and comments. Special thanks go to Professor Ann Wehmeyer for reading and commenting on the preliminary manuscript.

My thanks are due also to the other members on the linguistics faculty at the University of Colorado, particularly Professors Babara Fox and Laura Michaelis, and at the University of Florida, particularly Professors Diana Boxer and Caroline Wilshire. Their contributions to my education have been invaluable.

In Korea where it all began, my deep gratitude goes to my teachers. Professors Tae-Hong Ko and Wan-Song Hyun, who introduced me to linguistics, have encouraged me to continue my studies. A special word of thanks is due to Professor Chong-Hoon Kim, my earlier advisor, for giving me constant advice and encouragement since.

I also wish to extend my appreciation to my good friends in Boulder and Gatorland. In Boulder, Chelobum Lee, Kihyun Cho, and Pyungwha Lee befriended me with all smiles and encouraged me to reach out for new goals under the new sky. I can't forget college football on Saturdays which I watched with them. I also remembered two classmates, Lanthorn Burke and JunWoo Park with both of whom I could do many things. I must thank for their enriching friendship. In Gatorland, I thank Seung-Man Kang, *senbae*, for his warmest help and encouragement. I can't forget many talks and discussions with Evelyne Ngantchui who goes the same road under my advisor. I also remember Dan Hufnagle, Seongwon Jin, Korean friends in Linguistics and many unknown informants for the data of this study. Special thanks go to Sunhee Kim whose discussion on my writing is of a big help. Il-Ho Kang, my all-purpose *hwubae*, helps me and our family a lot like my young brother. For his friendship, I owe

special thanks to Victor Prietto and his family. I have extremely benefited from our discussions about the issues in linguistics and the aspects in life.

Lastly, but certainly not of least significance, I am indebted to my father, mother, brother and sisters, for their unconditional love and faith in me that have provided much strength and motivation to the accomplishment of this work. I also thank my mother-in-law, brother-in-law, and sister-in-law for their emotional support and concern. This work could not have been completed without the writing environment and the prayer support and cooperation provided by my wife, Jeongbae Mun. I would like to express my gratitude to my lovable souls: my son Hyungseok and my daughter Eujin whose love and smile have sheltered me from the 'dissertation' blues. Their continued support cannot be sufficiently returned by a few words of thanks.

Finally, I am also grateful to my late teacher, Professor In-Seok Yang, who introduced me to the functional model of linguistics. He encouraged me to pursue the further academic goal. In memory of my late father-in-law, Sungil Mun, from whom I learned the value of achievement through hard work, I express my eternal love and gratitude.

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KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

In glossing Korean examples, we use the following abbreviations. The transcription of Korean examples follows the conventions of the Yale system of Romanization.

ACC:	Accusative	ADD:	Additive
ATT:	Attributive	AUX:	Auxiliary
BND.N:	Bound Noun	CAU:	Causative
CLF:	Classifier	CONN:	Connective
DLM:	Delimiter Marking	DM:	Discourse Marker
FE:	Formal Ending	GEN:	Genitive
HON:	Honorific	IE:	Informal Ending
LOC:	Locative	M:	Measure Word
MOD:	Modifier	MODL:	Modality
NEG:	Negative	NFM:	Non-finality Marker
NOM:	Nominalizer	NM:	Nominative
PFV:	Perfective	PRES:	Present
PL:	Plural	PROG:	Progressive
PST:	Past	PURP:	Purposive
RES:	Resultative	Q:	Question
QUOT:	Quotative	SIM:	Simultaneous
TP:	Topic Marker	TQ:	Tag Question

Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School
of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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August 2001

Chairman: Dr. Chauncey C. Chu
Major Department: Linguistics

The present study examines some topic expressions and their dynamic functions in Korean, which are realized by such various linguistic coding devices as *–nun*, *–nuntey*, and *–isscanha*. Previously, topic studies in Korean have concerned themselves with the identification of a topical entity drawing on the topic marker *–nun*. Aware of the limitations of previous analyses of the topic structure, we take up the issue from a different point of view: a discourse/functional perspective. Our underlying assumption is that the choice of a topical form representing an entity or event is interactively determined by dynamic discourse contexts.

This study has two specific assumptions within the discourse/functional framework. One is that various topical expressions such as a *–nun*-marked NP and ZA are used to convey different discourse/pragmatic implications. The other is that the topic as a dynamical discourse notion is introduced, developed and continuously organized within situational contexts.

For the first, we adopt Chu's markedness model consisting of a continuum of two typical topic structures: marked vs. unmarked. Based on natural discourse data, we examine the typical topic realizations in Korean: the *–nun* topic and zero anaphora. It is argued that the *–nun* topic, as a marked one, is linguistically prominent, viz. high in informative value. In addition, the concept of marked topic is useful in the sense that it can offer some insight into how focus reading sometimes co-exists with topic reading. On the other hand, ZA, as an unmarked topic, is low in informative value and serves a unique function of linking clauses, a function which marked topics lack.

For the second assumption, we investigate two linguistic devices that can be readily regarded as what is called discourse marker: *–nuntey* and *–isscanha* in terms of topic-organizing processes. The claim made is that topic should be viewed from the *how*-perspective in discourse organizing processes. In other words, participants use various linguistic devices to signal how their contributions are related to prior and subsequent segments of discourse.

It is shown that two discourse markers *–nuntey* and *–isscanha* come into play in helping various actual topic interpretations. These functions are derived from their fundamental properties, viz. *–nuntey* as a non-finality marker and *–isscanha* as an attention-calling device. More specifically, *–nuntey*, signaling more information is yet to come, has to do with such actual interpretations as topic-introduction, topic-resumption, topic-continuation, and topic negotiation. *–Isscanha*, attracting attention to what immediately follows the utterance it occurs in, helps the speaker facilitate dynamic topic developments. Among its actual interpretations are topic introduction, topic establishment, topic seeking, topic shift and listing of topics.

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The main task of linguistics, especially within a discourse-functional framework, is assumed to be accounting for the relation between linguistic forms and their functions (Brown and Yule, 1983; Foley and van Valin, 1984; Halliday, 1985; Fox, 1987; Givón, 1989, 1993, 1995; Renkema, 1993; Chafe, 1994; Lambrecht, 1994; Chu, 1998 and others). In a general sense, linguistic forms include a simple morpheme or a syntactic structure, among others. The term 'function' is related to the way people use their language(s). The core assumption of this approach is that the relation between the two reflects how language users manipulate linguistic constituents to meet their communicative needs; therefore they demonstrate the motivated nature of linguistic form. The aim of discourse-functional studies is "to provide an explanatory description of systematic differences in forms and functions and the relation between them" (Renkema, 1993: 2). Consequently, grammar is conceived of as an adaptive entity influenced by the communicative needs in the discourse environment.

To complement previous studies in Korean in which topics are regarded as a morpho-syntactic product, the present study assumes that topics are a result of dynamic processes (e.g., through form and function interactions) in discourse. More specifically, the main goal of this study is show that not only do they differ from each other pragmatically or informationally, but they also serve different functions in discourse.

As seen in Section 1.5 below, this study namely consists of two parts. The first part is primarily concerned with the notions of 'marked' vs. 'unmarked' to provide a more unified explanation to the seemingly incompatible phenomenon of a topic overlapping with focus. The second part extends the scope of topical interpretations by dealing with discourse markers (e.g., *–nuntey* and *–isscanha*) as topic indicators in the context of language-in-use.

1.2 What is Topic?

The definition of topic has long been held as 'what the sentence is about.' The definition, according to Vallduvi (1992: 31), is found as early as Mathesius (1915) and subsequently adopted by many researchers (e.g., Halliday, 1967; Reinhart, 1982; Gundel, 1988; Vallduvi, 1992; Lambrecht, 1994). This means that the abstract term 'aboutness' has been employed as an operational criterion to identify 'topic' for a long time. Furthermore, the identification of topic is based on a dichotomy: topic-comment, which often, though not always, corresponds to the distinctive grammatical relation 'subject-predicate.' This two-way distinction is one of the most widely found in linguistics.[1] In this framework, the status of 'topic' is relational. That is, its status is determined in terms of the status of comment (cf. Vallduvi, 1992:43). Based on this loose definition, the main task of a formal approach is to identify the topic in terms of structural (including syntactic, morphological and phonological) characteristics.

In addition to 'aboutness,' which is related to the logical relation between topic and comment, the order of constituents in a sentence serves as a determining factor with

[1] The dichotomy is originally defined by Hockett (Vallduvi, 1992:31).

regard to topic realization. Thus, word order has long been regarded as a surface phenomenon which has been widely used to identify a topic structure. From a syntactic perspective, the topic is defined as the sentence-initial constituent of a clause (Halliday, 1967, 1985; Chomsky, 1971; Gundel, 1988; Vallduvi, 1992; Lambrecht, 1994). This is a basic claim in terms of syntactic position and thus a structural property of topic.

Another common view relates topic to issues of information structure and pragmatic prominence (Chafe, 1976, 1994; Bates and MacWhinney, 1982; Brown and Yule, 1983; Gundel, 1988; Lambrecht, 1994).[2] The general assumption of this view lies in the fact that the choice of a certain form cannot be fully understood without any consideration of linguistic and extra-linguistic contexts. Informationally speaking, the information status of an entity depends on considerations of a participant's point of view in discourse. Typical is the distinction between given and new information. According to Chafe (1976), given information is what the speaker assumes the hearer already knows, while new information is not. In most cases, topics represent given information. From a pragmatic perspective, topic is related to the pragmatic property of 'focus of attention' (Li and Thompson, 1976; Kim, 1983; Givón, 1993). In other words, topics are used as a means of securing the hearer/reader's attention.

Finally, topic is regarded as dynamic processes in a given discourse. This corresponds to the view of *how*-perspective which "focuses on the overall discourse organization with respect to which topic is defined" (Goutsos, 1997: 2). The essence of this approach is how topic is initiated, maintained through shift or change, and closed in

[2] The term 'information,' admittedly a loose and confusing term, has been widely adopted among much linguistic writing. Some illustrative labels are given in the following: Information structure (Halliday, 1967; Brown and Yule, 1983; Lambrecht, 1994), Information package (Chafe, 1976; Foley and van Valin, 1985), Informatics (Vallduvi, 1992), and Informative value (or informativeness) (Chu, 1998).

discourse. In these processes, the role of topic is to steer the discourse through the interactions of participants. For instance, Chu (1998: 261) argues that topic processes go through the following three stages: "introduction, pick-up (establishment) and closing." Bublitz (1988: 41) also argues that topic in discourse can appear in various topical action patterns: "introducing topic, changing a topic, digressing from a topic, shifting a topic and closing a topic (and breaking off a topic)."

1.3 The Basic Assumptions for the Present Study

This study makes two specific assumptions. The first assumption is that various topical expressions are used to convey various different discourse/pragmatic functional implications. We argue that different forms of topic are different in their informative value and carry different functions. Our argument is mainly based on the markedness of topic proposed by Chu (1998, 2000a), in which topic is understood as being located a continuum from marked to unmarked. The determination of markedness is a matter of linguistic coding devices: the more marked the topic is, the heavier it is in linguistic form. In addition, the selection of a specific form as well as its proper interpretation may not just be a matter of formal encodings. Rather, the phenomenon involves the interaction between different levels of linguistic structure: syntax, pragmatics and discourse. For example, marked topics are high in informative value. At the morphological level in Korean, topical expressions may take various shapes: from a –*nun*-marked noun phrase to zero anaphora. We will argue that the different morphological realizations are a reflection of various functions and informative values.

Our second assumption is to view topic from the *how*-perspective in discourse organizing processes as mentioned above. Bublitz (1988:40) uses the term 'topical

actions' to capture the various "topical threads being initiated, maintained and completed." Lenk (1998: 13) also argues that the speakers "must attempt to make easily recognizable for their hearers how a new contribution relates to prior parts of the conversation." To this end, participants use various linguistic devices to signal how their contributions relate to prior and subsequent segmentations. Discourse markers are one of the devices that directs the topic of discourse. Schiffrin (1987: 31) defines discourse markers as "sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk." In English, 'then' as a discourse marker is used to mark the succession from one topic to another in discourse (Schiffrin, 1987: 251-253). Consider the example in (1) in which two topics (the buckets [red and green] and the shovels [rake and ordinary]) are contrastively connected by the discourse marker 'then.'

(1) So w- there's two big red buckets. One has a handle and one doesn't. And there was a green bucket, with a handle… And **then** there was like a blue shovel with r- eh it was rake. One had- there was only one: : like that. The other was an ordinary shovel. (Schiffrin, 1987: 251)

Along these general lines, the present study will argue that Korean also employs discourse markers for other topical processes. For this, we will specify two discourse markers, *–nuntey* and *–isscanha*, in terms of topic interactional relations.

1.4 Methodological Issues

For this study, we do not limit ourselves to some specific settings when collecting data. Instead, we use a wide range of naturally-produced data, whether spoken or written. Sometimes we use spoken materials garnered by the author, and sometimes we depend on written sources. Some made-up sentences are used for

illustrative purpose. In presenting interactional data, the speakers are generally referred to as A, B, and C for convenience and for ensuring the anonymity of participants.

1.5 Outline

This study consists of two major parts under the name of one theme: The first part is on the study of topic in terms of markedness and the second part is about the functional role of discourse markers with respect to topic-organization. The first part includes Chapters Two and Three, and the rest of the chapters constitute the second part.

In Chapter Two, we review the study of Korean topic structures from structural and functional perspectives. In the formal perspective the analysis is sentence-oriented. Here the particle *–nun* is equated with a typical topic marker and therefore used just as a device to identify topic in Korean. In the functional perspective, *–nun* is analyzed in light of discourse functions (e.g., thematic breaker). A review of previous studies show that while they explain many facts, they are to a considerable degree limited in terms of their scope and ability to explicate the topic phenomenon in Korean. In this connection, we critically review previous studies and point out the gaps and limitations.

Chapter Three deals with topic structures in Korean in terms of markedness, trying to provide a unified explanation for them. First, we discuss a theoretical base for this, adopting Chu's (1998, 2000a) distinction between marked and unmarked topic. We propose that Korean shows parallels to Chu's system. Like Chu's work, this study is based on discourse.

Chapters Five and Six discuss the relation between the use of a discourse markers and dynamic topical interactions. We show how discourse markers function in

discourse to introduce, establish, and change topics, among others. Specifically, we discuss the discourse marker *–nuntey* in Chapter Five and *–isscanha* in Chapter Six. In both chapters, our discussions include structural and discoursal considerations. Then, we provide a unified explanation for the behaviors of each marker in terms of topic interaction in discourse context.

The results and significance of this study are summarized in Chapter Seven. Our conclusions are presented along with the theoretical implications and the possible extensions of the present analysis that need further research.

CHAPTER TWO
KOREAN TOPIC: MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

2.1 Introduction

Korean is rich in morphological markers for grammatical relations. For example, the grammatical relations of noun phrases to the verb are coded by markers known as 'postpositions' as opposed to prepositions in English.[1] There are two types of postpositional particles: grammatical-function particles and discourse-function particles (Chang, 1996: 55-56). The former include such markers as *–ka* for subject,*–lul* for direct object, *–ekey* for indirect object, etc. The latter, also known as 'delimiters,' include *–nun* for topic, *–man*'only,' and *–to* 'also,' etc. (see Section 2.2.3.1 for the use of the term 'delimiter.') Most of the studies on Korean topic in linguistics are based solely on the postpositional marker *–nun* in terms of its semantic or structural nature and sometimes in comparison with *–ka* (Oh, 1972; Yang, 1972; D. Yang, 1973; Bak, 1981; Kim, 1983; Lee, 1984; Choi, 1985; Jung, 1990; Choe, 1995; Kim, 1999). In addition, both pronominal anaphora and ellipsis (e.g., zero anaphora) constitute another main target in topic-related studies under the influence of the study of Western languages.

The present chapter is mainly concerned with the following two aspects: the review of previous studies and the proposal of research questions for some ignored

[1] Some relations are marked on the verb, e.g., the honorific marker. But they do not mark grammatical relations.

areas in topic study. Section 2.2 reviews prior studies on Korean topic. Our first discussion concerns the syntactic and semantic differences between the morphological markers *–ka* and *–nun*, followed by the other types of topic expressions including pronoun and ellipsis. We also review studies in which some other morphological markers (e.g., delimiters *–to*, *–man*, etc.) are included as topic indicators. In Section 2.3, we demonstrate that there are gaps which must be filled up for the interpretation of topic in the dynamic flow of discourse. Based on these observations, further research questions are defined for the present study.

2.2 Review of Literature on Korean Topic

2.2.1 Particles: *–ka* and *–nun* [2]

In Li and Thompson's (1976) sense, Korean is classified as both subject-prominent and topic-prominent. This holds true at least in terms of morphology. For example, the postposition *–ka* is employed canonically to mark the subject of both intransitive and transitive clauses, while the delimiter *–nun* is used to specify a discourse function, – i.e., topic. This leads many grammarians to delve into the syntactic and semantic nature of the two morphological markers at the earlier stage. Before reviewing the syntactic and semantic nature of the two forms, an examination of their distribution is in order.

[2] Depending on phonological conditions, each of these forms has a variant. After a vowel, *-ka* and *–nun* are used, while after a consonant, *-i* and *–un* are used as a variant, respectively. Hereafter, *-ka* and *–nun* will be used as a representative of each for the sake of clarity.

2.2.1.1 The distribution of *–ka* and *–nun*

Interestingly, in some cases (especially, at the beginning of a sentence), *–ka* and *–nun* are freely interchangeable without any change in the truth-conditional meaning. Thus, we can have all of the following sentences in (1).

(1) a. sensaeng - nim - ka on - ta.
teacher – HON- NM come:PRES–FE
'(Our) teacher is coming.'

b. sensaeng - nim - nun on - ta.
teacher – HON - TP come:PRES- FE
'(Our) teacher is coming.'

c. sensaeng - nim - ka kong – ul chan - ta.
teacher – HON - NM ball - ACC kick:PRES - FE
'(Our) teacher kicks a ball.'

d. sensaeng - nim - nun kong – ul chan - ta.
teacher – HON - TP ball - ACC kick:PRES - FE
'(Our) teacher kicks a ball.'

In other cases, the two morphemes have an asymmetrical distribution.[3] Typical is the use with a wh- phrase, which forms a question. They cannot replace each other. Take (2), for instance.

(2) *–ka* with wh- phrase, but not *–nun*

nuku * nun/ ka ka - ss - ipnikka?
Who TP / NM go – PST- Q
'Who went?'

Given a discourse context, the asymmetricality between the two particles in use increases to a considerable degree. Consider the example in (3).

[3] It is pointed out that the particle *–nun* marks a wider range of elements than the particle *–ka*. The former enjoys much more freedom than the latter in terms of distribution. The use of *–nun* covers a various types of constituents such as noun phrases, connectives, adverbial phrases, and postpositional phrases. On the other hand, the use of *–ka* limits its range to only noun phrases (Kim, 1983; Kang, 1999).

(3) a. In contrastive discourse:

A: na - nun Seoul - ese wa – ss - ta
I – TP - from come-PST-FE
'I came from Seoul'

B: na - nun/?ka Pusan - ese wa – ss – ta
I- TP/NM - from come-PST-FE
'I came from Pusan.'

b. Repetition of the same entity:

A: sensaeng – nim - ka hakkyo - ey o – si - ess - ipnikka?
teacher - HON-NM school – LOC come-HON-PST-Q
'Did the teacher come to school?

B: senaeng – nim- nun,/*ka imi o – si - ess – ipnita.
teacher – HON- TP/NM already come-HON-PST-FE
'The teacher has already come to school.'

c. Ellipsis of the same entity:

A: Chelswu – nun/ka hakkyo –ey ka – ss - ipnikka?
- TP/NM school – LOC go-PST – Q
'Did Chelswu go to school?'

B: ung, (Chelswu – nun/*ka) hakkyo ka – ss – e.
umm, school go-PST-IE
Yes, (he) went to school.'

In (3), the choice between the two particles seems to reflect their communicative function in discourse. Consequently, it is one of the main tasks for Korean grammarians to clarify and justify the difference of the two, delving into their semantic differences. More is to be said on this in the following section.

2.2.1.2 The nature of semantic difference

In order to contrast the two particles, most studies attempt to separate them by drawing on their semantic nature (Oh, 1972; Yang, 1973; Choi, 1986; Sung, 1985; Jung, 1990; Ko, 1998). These studies are based on discourse-oriented concepts such as

theme, contrast, exhaustive listing, and old/new information. Yang (1973) is one of the first to apply these discourse-oriented concepts to separate the roles of the two particles. Modeled after Kuno's work on the Japanese particles *–wa* for topic and *–ga* for subject, he argues that *–ka* functions as the nominative marker and *–nun* as the topic marker. Below is his classification, as summarized by Choi (1985: 239).

Table 2-1. Nominative *–ka* vs. Topic Particle *–nun*

	Unmarked Environments	Marked Environments
Nominative *ka*	SUBJECT in 'specific' sentence *and* unstressed	EXCLUSIVE FOCUS (a) in 'generic' sentence *or* (b) stressed *or* (c) both (a) and (b)
Topic particle *nun*	TOPIC in 'specific' sentence *and* unstressed *and* in sentence-initial position	CONTRASTIVE FOCUS (a) in 'specific' sentence *or* (b) stressed *or* (c) in non-sentence-initial position or (d) any combination of (a), (b) and (c)

Table 2-1 is intended to show that the nominative marker *–ka* is different from the topic particle *–nun*. Specifically, it shows that *–ka* and *–nun* have two different pragmatic functions. Yang's proposal that Korean syntax is thus best viewed as subject-dominant as well as topic-dominant seems to some degree persuasive at first glance. However, his argument deserves much discussion. For example, Kim (1983: 57) convincingly argues that the meaning of 'exclusiveness' is not entirely responsible for the use of the particle *–ka*. Some examples are given in (4).

(4) a. nwu – ka ilponmal – ul a – nuya?
who-NM Japanese-ACC know-Q
'Who knows Japanese?'

b. i se salam cwungey nwu – ka ilponmal – ul a - nuya?
this three man among who – NM Japanese- ACC know-Q
'Who knows Japanese among these three persons?'

c. i salam – ka ilponmal - ul a - nta.
this man – NM Japanese – ACC know-FE
'(It is) this person (who) knows Japanese.'

d. i salam – man ilponmal - ul a - nta.
This man – NM Japanese – ACC know-FE
'Only this person knows Japanese.'

(Kim, 1983: 57)

According to Kim, there are two reasons why we cannot attribute the 'exclusiveness' meaning to the grammatical particle *–ka*. First, Koreans make use of the special particle *–man* 'only' to express the semantic exclusiveness, as unambiguously shown in (4d). Compared to (4d), (4c) has too weak a degree of exclusiveness to attribute that function to the particle *–ka*. Second, the term 'exclusiveness' is sensitive to the context. This means that a given context may easily negate the 'exclusiveness' interpretation of a *–ka* sentence. Further review on the use of *–nun* is given in Section 2.2.2.

On the other hand, the status of information is another tool used to distinguish between *–ka* and *–nun*. The interpretation of information is based on the distribution of the two particles. That is, *–ka* is associated with 'new' information or what has not been mentioned so far and *–nun* with 'given' information or what has been mentioned already. In this way, the appearance of *–nun* is equated with topic interpretation, and that of *–ka* is not. Look at the sentences given in (2) and (3) above, for example. Information status might explain that only *–ka* can appear with a wh- phrase and why the repetition of the same entity is accompanied by *–nun*. But no such clear-cut distinction can be made when we look at the examples in (1), where *–ka* and *–nun* are interchangeable. In fact, the interchangeability of the two argues forcefully against the validity of this information-based distinction (Sohn, 1986: 195). Further discussions of

this matter are interesting but beyond the scope of the present study since *–ka* is not the focus of our research.

2.2.2 Two Functions of *–nun*: Topic Marker and Contrast Marker

As its name 'discourse particle' indicates, the particle *–nun* is characterized by its multifunctional uses. While the particle *–ka* serves a function of indicating a grammatical role, the particle *–nun* gives an additional semantic or discourse meaning to the component to which it is attached. Among its uses are 'emphasis, contrast, opposition, restriction, completion, condition, continuation, topic, etc.' (Kim, 1983: 60).[4] In spite of such diverse and sometimes conflicting uses, there is general agreement on the basic functions of the particle *–nun*: as a topic marker and a contrast marker, as seen in Section 2.2.1.2. In what follows, a brief review of previous approaches to these two functions is presented. Included below are both formal and functional studies on the particle *–nun*.

2.2.2.1 Topic marker

There are two distinct approaches to topic realization: formal and functional. The former focuses on the derivational process from non-topical position to topical position – i.e., sentence-initial position. The latter, roughly, focuses on the question of what motivates the use of this topic maker from a discourse-functional perspective.

[4] Kim (1983: 60) argues that "such an interpretation of the particle *–nun* seems likely to be attributable to individual contexts rather than its inherent properties."

From a Formal Perspective

By accepting the particle *–nun* as topic marker, formal approaches are mainly concerned with the structural explanation of the topic particle. More specifically, the formal approach, by equating the sentence-initial *–nun* with topic, tries to provide structural justifications for this particle. One of the well-executed models is a derivational approach (e.g., Generative-transformational approach) which has been widely adopted to explore topic realization among Korean linguists.

Unlike English, in which topicalization may be said to be just a syntactic matter (e.g., moving to sentence-initial position), the Korean topic involves both the morphological cue *–nun* and the syntactic position. In generative terms, the syntactic hierarchical structure resulting from the topicalization process at an abstract level must be justified or motivated by the morphological marker or vice versa. So it might be said that generative model tackles a double issue: the structural justification of a topic entity by both morphological and syntactic means (Oh, 1972; Yang, 1973; Choe, 1995; Kim, 1999). Some representative formulations of the generative approach are given in the following.

The earliest proposal runs parallel to that of English, except for the morphological marker. Oh (1972) proposes a process of Topicalization schematized as follows:

(5) Topicalization

X, NP [+definite] + Particle, Y

1 2 3

⟶ (2 + nun) # (1, ∅, 3)

(Oh, 1972: 627)

(6) a. sensaeng - ka (na – lul) ttayli – esse - yo
teacher - NM me-ACC beat - PST -IE
'The teacher beat me.'

b. sensaeng - nun (na – lul) ttayli - -esse - yo
teacher - TP me-ACC beat - PST - IE
'As for the teacher, he beat me.'

(Oh, 1972: 632)

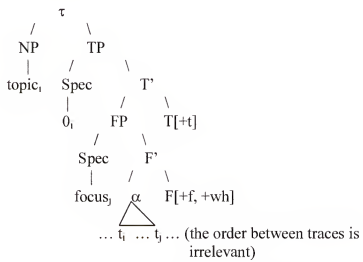
The point of Oh's formulation is that the topical sentence in (6b) is derived from a non-topical sentence (6a). And this derivation is the result of the application of the transformational rule called topicalization in (5). But why the construction should require a topicalizing transformation is far from clear in Oh's account (cf., Bak, 1981; Sohn, 1986).

Since then, much research has been done with the intention of finding out in what ways topicalization is substantiated in morphosyntactic terms. One of the reasons for this research is the theoretical fluctuation of transformational grammar. This fact also provides indirect evidence that topic realization is really hard to pin down within a derivational model. Difficulties with previous approaches are demonstrated in Kim (1999) from a transformational camp.[5]

[5] At this time, another name – i.e., a minimalist approach – is used to refer to a modified transformational model. For convenience's sake, I use the name 'transformational,' if necessary, throughout our discussion to represent the various models.

Another effort to describe topicalization is made in Choe (1995). But she tries to give a unified explanation for both topic and focus within the transformational framework. Her guiding principle, however, still lies in the traditional assumption that topic in Korean is 1) "accompanied by the marker *–nun,*" 2) "what comes first in the clause," 3) "what is being talked about" 4) "not focused or stressed" and 5) "has the topic-comment relation with the rest of the clause" (1995: 304). Within the newly modified transformation, she proposes two functional categories with features [+t(opic)] and [+f(ocus)] as shown in (7).

(7) a. $[_{\tau}\ \text{topic}_i\ \ 0_t\ \ [_{\beta}\ \text{focus}_j\ \ [_{\alpha}\ \ \ldots\ t_i \ldots\ t_j \ldots]]]$

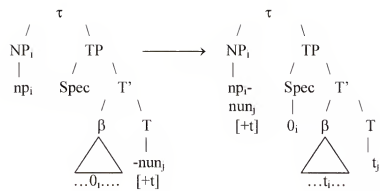


where focus$_j$ may be an information or a contrastive focus or a wh-focus; and where α = Tense Phrase or Mood Phrase (MP) and τ is a category representing the topic-comment relation in the clause (0 = null topic operator).

(Choe, 1995:270)

With the understanding of the diagram in (7), the structure of topic sentence and its licensing which Choe proposes are like the following:

(8)



(Choe, 1995: 313)

Taking the general assumptions above for topic qualifications, Choe seeks to justify a topicalized constituent that depends on the hierarchical structure. For this purpose, she posits the movement process in (8), which is a detailed version topic realization derived from (7). In (8), 'β indicates FP or MP and T, as the head, is phonetically realized as –*nun*.' The way topic is licensed in these structures is that the morphological marker –*nun* with a feature of [+t] is attached to 'the head of the base-generated topic.' Next, the feature [+t] is assigned to the topic element. Overall, "NP-*nun* and TP have the topic-comment relation (or psychological subject-predicate relation)" (Choe, 1995:313). Choe's formulation differs from Oh's in that Choe tries to provide some motivation on how to generate the topic by positing the artificial category T.

In this section, we have looked at some of the representative works on topicalization in Korean within the framework of transformational grammar. Though based on different versions of the derivational model, these works have one thing in common: Their explanations are all purely syntactic in nature. Their attention is on how to transform from a non-topical sentence to a topical one at an abstract level. Within this framework, topic is morphologically marked with –*nun* and syntactically in

a sentence initial position. Furthermore, as Choe argues above, topic is distinct from the 'focus' structure, as it has to do with what the sentence is about.

From a Functional Perspective

With a growing interest in the communicative functions of language use, a non-derivational approach has been adopted to studies on topic. This approach is more interested in the pragmatic and discourse functions of the topic entity than just in its relations to syntactic structure. For Korean topic, this function-oriented research has mainly focused on the meaning and nature of *–nun,* because the topic is traditionally identified with a *nun*-marked element. But, unlike the transformational approach, which is sentence-based, function-oriented analyses are based on natural spoken or written discourse. The reason for this is that the analysts believe the actual use of *–nun* is discourse-based and that the nature of *–nun* can best be unraveled in the flow of discourse. Some representatives are Kim (1983) and Hwang (1983).

Kim (1983) is one of the first few to review the semantic meaning of the topic marker *–nun* critically. He argues that "the function of the particle *–nun* cannot be captured in terms of a superficial dichotomy such as 'topic' and 'non-topic' or 'contrast' and 'non-contrast'" (1983: 66). Instead, the basic function of the particle *–nun* is to highlight "an item that is chosen as the center of the speaker/writer's attention, which in the meantime is meant to be directed to the listener/reader" (1983:66). Simply put, the basic function of *–nun* is to attract 'attention.' As a

discourse strategy, the notion of attention is applied to Korean topic realization.[6] This explains why morphological marking is required when an entity in a non-topical position is chosen as the center of attention. In this way, Kim tries to unify the concepts 'topic' and 'contrast' under the concept of 'attention,' as a way of substantiating topic realization in Korean. For example,

(9) a. Mary – ka yongmo – nun ippu-ci – man haengsil – ka kullesta
Mary- NM face – TP pretty-but behavior- NM bad:FE
'Mary, her face is pretty but her behavior is bad.'

b. Mary – ka yongmo – ya ippu-ci – man haengsil – ka kullesta
Mary- NM face – DLM pretty-but behavior- NM bad:FE
'Mary, her face is pretty but her behavior is bad.'

He argues that what makes a pair of concepts contrastive is not in the use of *–nun* in (9a), which has no propositional meaning difference from (9b). In spite of the fact that different particles (e.g., *–nun* vs. *–ya*) are attached to the contrasted noun phrases,[7] there is no tangible meaning difference between the two sentences in (9). Instead, contrast comes from 1) the 'lexical juxtaposition (e.g., *yongmo* 'face' vs. *haengsil* 'behavior' in (9a)) and 2) the verbal connective *–ciman* 'but.' Furthermore, this fact leads him to the conclusion that the implication of contrast does not depend on the properties of the particle *–nun* per se, but on the context as a whole. As a result, he emphasizes that the particle *–nun* is used to attract the hearer/reader's attention. He fails to point out what

[6] It might be of help to look at how topic is realized in Korean in Kim's frame. His main assumption is that the topic in Korean is primarily realized by syntax and secondarily by morphology. This means that a combination of these two factors has an influence on the degree of topichood in Korean. For example, if a topic entity is located at sentence-initial position with morphological marking *–nun*, it has a strong degree of topicality. If a *–nun*-marked topic entity is in non-sentence initial position, it is lower in attention, thus lower in topicality.

[7] Both particles (*–nun* and *–ya*) are classified as delimiters (Yang, 1972). Their semantic function is to add extra meaning to the elements to which they are attached. However, it is extremely difficult to incorporate the meaning of each particle into an English sentence. Such particles carry vague semantic overtones, e.g., *–to* 'also,' *–ya* 'taken for granted,' *–mace* 'even,' etc. (Kim, 1983: 86).

difference there is between the uses of *–nun* and *–ya* in the example.

His otherwise insightful analysis leaves something to be desired, though. First of all, it is not clear how the cognitive sense 'attention' is related to the particle *–nun* as a means of topic realization. Even though implied, it is also not clear how topicality is substantiated in terms of a degree of the sense. He clearly points out that there are several ways of encoding the topic structure in Korean: In addition to *–nun*, it can be marked by the case particle *–ka* or it can be realized as a zero anaphor. But he never directly answers the basic question, 'why are topics realized in different ways?'

Hwang (1983) is another study focusing on the use of *–nun* in terms of topic realization. On the discourse level, her analysis is based on the quantitative methodology developed by Givón (1983).[8] In her study, a similar pattern to English is found to be true of Korean. A full NP is the least continuous and zero anaphora is the most. Unlike English, the topical NP in Korean is marked by the particle *–nun* in general. Therefore, the *–nun*-attached NP is considered the least continuous topic without any further functional explanation. For example, the contrastive function of *–nun* as a topic is left as one of the unanswered questions in Hwang's study.

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[8] In his model, the notion of topic is scalar. The assumption on this is that each referential entity has a degree of topicality within the discourse environment. The relative degree of topicality of a referent can be understood as a reflection of importance or contribution of a referent to discourse. On the other hand, topicality is measured through the distance between two successive referents. Three measurements are made for distance. 1) Lookback: "the number of clauses to the last clause in which the referent for the token was mentioned." (2) Decay: "the number of following clauses after the token in which its referent is maintained as a participant argument." (3) Potential ambiguity: "a measure of competing participant arguments for the identification of the referent for the token" (Hwang, 1983: 49). Based on the hypothesis, Givón's study shows that the least coded entity (e.g., zero anaphora) is the most continuous, while the most coded one (e.g., full NP) is the least continuous in English. This hypothesis is followed by typological supports in many other studies (see Givón, ed., 1983). Hwang is one of them.

2.2.2.2 Contrast marker

In Section 2.2.2.1, we looked at the particle *–nun* with regard to a topical interpretation. Another interpretation of *–nun* has long been associated with the meaning of contrast. Contrast, however, has generally been regarded as the opposite of topic. To circumvent this dilemma, the particle *–nun* is interpreted as topical in a sentence-initial position. In a non-initial position then it is understood as communicating contrast. The meaning of contrast has been used rather intuitively implicating an element that may have explicit or implicit alternatives. As an illustration of this, compare (10a) with (10b).

(10) a. Tom – nun hakkyo – ey ka - ss - ta
– TP school – LOC go-PST-FE
'Tom went to school.'

b. Tom - ka meli – nun coh - ta
– NM head-TP good-FE
'Tom, his intelligence is high.'

In (10a), the *–nun*-phrase *Tom* is located at the beginning of a sentence. It serves the function of topic in the sense of what the sentence is about. In (10b), the *–nun*-attached element is in the middle of the sentence. It seems that *meli* 'intelligence' is in contrast with some implicit alternative(s).

Kim (1985) discusses two usages of the particle *–nun*: Topic Reading and Contrastive Focus Reading. This is based on the assumption that topic and focus are mutually exclusive. For example,

(11) a. John-nun hankwukmal – ul hankwuk – esey paewe – ss - ta
TP Korean – ACC Korea – LOC learn-PST-FE
'John learned his Korean in Korea.'

b. Hankwukmal – ul John – nun hankwuk - esey paewe – ss – ta
Korean – ACC - TP Korea- LOC learn-PST-FE
'John learned his Korean in Korea.'

c. # Hankwukmal – ul hankwuk – esey John – nun paewe - ss -ta
Korean – ACC Korea – LOC -TP learn – PST- FE
'John learned his Korean in Korea.'

(Kim, 1985: 142)

Now (11b) is less acceptable than (11a), though it is still grammatical. (11c) is only marginally acceptable. Kim argues that a topic cannot appear at IPV position, which is only for focus.[9] In other words, a topic cannot occur preverbally, if focus is present elsewhere in the same sentence. This assumption leads him to the conclusion that topic and focus are mutually exclusive. As a result, he regards the particle *–nun* as a homonymous morpheme "used for Topic, on the one hand, and for Contrastive Focus, on the other" (Kim, 1985: 35).[10] A further example is given in (12).

(12) Chejudo – eysenun namca - nun aeki – lul po - ko
Cheju island-LOC men - TP child-ACC look – CONN
yeca – nun pata - eyse il - ha - pnita
women-TP sea- LOC work-do - FE
'On Cheju island, men take care of baby while women work at sea.'

In (12), the NPs *namca* 'men' and *yeca* 'women' form a contrastive pair marked by the particle *–nun*. They are contrastive focus, which "shares properties of discourse primes, Focus, on the one hand and Topic, on the other" (Kim, 1985: 34). This suggests that topic and focus are not longer mutually exclusive.

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[9] IPV focus is defined in the following way. An element is an IPV Focus if it immediately precedes the main verb of the surface structure, whatever the element's grammatical function, and is accompanied by the intonation nucleus of the sentence (Kim, 1985: 45).

[10] His theoretical definition on Contrastive Focus is as follows: Given a discourse utterance, and a set D containing p and q, the proposition of the utterance of a portion of the proposition, as a sole alternative to q, and both p and q are given in Discourse Pool, p is a contrastive focus iff the speaker asserts p and not q to be true in the context of the discourse. Where p=q. (Kim, 1985: 33). If so, it is a contradiction rather than a contrast.

A similar argument is made in Choi (1997) in terms of the basic meaning of *–nun*. Choi claims that the particle *–nun* indicates a contrastive meaning. Specifically, contrastiveness has to do with two different functions, depending on the syntactic condition of the so-called 'scrambling': contrastive focus and contrastive topic. The particle *–nun* receives a contrastive focus reading when it is in the base position ('in situ' in Choi's sense). It gets a contrastive topic reading when it is scrambled leftward. It is therefore proposed that topicality, as a continuum phenomenon, increases as a NP moves towards the sentence-initial position. In her argument, topicality is encoded by 'scrambling.' Observe the following.

(13) a. Mary – ka ecey John - un manna – ss - ta.
-NM yesterday -TP meet – PST – FE
'Mary met John yesterday (but nobody else).'

b. Mary – ka John - un ecey manna – ss - ta.
-NM -TP yesterday meet – PST – FE
'Mary met John yesterday (and Bill today).'

c. John - un Mary – ka ecey manna – ss - ta.
-TP -NM yesterday meet – PST – FE
'As for John, Mary met him yesterday (and as for Bill, Jane met him today)

(Choi, 1997: 549)

Based on her argument, *–nun*-marked *John* in (13a) gets a contrastive focus, since it is 'in-situ.' Here contrastive focus means that the information encoded in *Mary met ... yesterday* in (13a) is true of 'John,' which is marked by *–nun*, and of no one else. On the other hand, the topicality of *–nun*-marked entity is increased as it moves leftward, as in (13b) and (13c). In this sense, topicality contains two separate meanings at the same time: aboutness and contrastiveness. More specifically, 'aboutness' is encoded by

scrambling – i.e., moving toward sentence-initial position, while contrastiveness is retained in the basic meaning of *–nun*, wherever it occurs in the sentence.

Choi made some progress toward explaining the basic meaning of the particle *–nun*. Furthermore, she proposed some superficial distinctions between contrastive focus and contrastive topic. However, she did not address the basic issue: What exactly underlies the functions of contrastive focus and contrastive topic? A further review of the relation between the two is offered in Section 3.2.3.3.

2.2.3 Other Types of Topic Marking

2.2.3.1 Delimiter

As is briefly pointed out in Section 2.1, Korean has two functionally different sets of post-nominal markers. One is closely related to grammatical functions such as nominative, accusative, oblique, etc. The other is closely related to discourse function such as presupposition, scope of interpretation, etc., depending on the discourse context. Specifically, the latter are known as 'delimiters,' a term originally due to Yang (1972). He writes this term in a semantic way in the sense that "the meaning of the element to which a delimiter is attached is 'delimited and/or specified'" (Yang, 1972: 59). Particles such as *–mace* 'even,' *–kkaci* 'even,' *–man* 'only,' *–to* 'also, too, even,' *–ya* 'at least, of course,' etc. fall into this category. Take the delimiter *–to* for example. In his study, Yang is not concerned with justifying the delimiter *–to* as a topic marker. Rather, as he clearly states, his focus is on introducing the category of delimiter into a grammar based on semantic functions. He postulates the semantics of *–to* as follows.

(14) Semantics of *–to*
Presupposition: (i) Registered sister members definitely exist (i.e., the non-uniqueness of the *–to*-attached element).

(ii) Some expectation about the *–to*-attached element is involved if the element refers to polar values (i.e., extreme cases) (i.e., for the 'even' reading).

Assertion: The sister members are not unique (i.e., parallel cases exist).

Implication: (i) The registered members have the same value as the *–to*-attached element.

(ii) The expectation about the *–to*-attached element is not realized (i.e., for the 'even' reading).

(Yang, 1973: 94)

The main discussion of delimiters as topic markers is found in Bak (1981). He considers delimiters to be important morphological indicators for marking topic in Korean. Delimiter-attached NP's can become topic for two reasons: syntactic and semantic.[11] To determine the topichood of delimiter-attached NP's in sentence-initial position, Bak applies these syntactic and semantic tests for topics. Syntactically, they are in a higher NP position from which the intuitive feeling of 'aboutness' comes (Bak,

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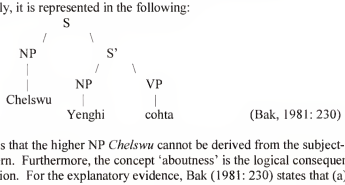
[11] In Bak's framework, topic is defined in terms of 'aboutness' or 'definiteness' semantically and 'higher NP position' syntactically. What is significant in his topic definition is the basic syntactic structure of Korean without a derivational process. According to him, Korean topic is realized in the position of an extra syntactic NP slot – i.e., $[(NP)\ [SOV]_s]_s$ (Bak, 1981: 224). In other words, the 'higher NP' in the pres-subject NP position dominates the following sentence S'. Non-selectional restrictions and reflexivization are presented as some evidence. For example,

(Chelswu (Yenghi – ka cohta))
-NM like:FE

'For Chelswu, Yenghi is good.' ('Chelswu likes Yenghi.')

Configurationally, it is represented in the following:



(Bak, 1981: 230)

The point here is that the higher NP *Chelswu* cannot be derived from the subject-predicate relation found in an SOV pattern. Furthermore, the concept 'aboutness' is the logical consequence drawn from the syntactic operation. For the explanatory evidence, Bak (1981: 230) states that (a) the semantic scope of the higher NP 'Chelswu' in the example extends over the entirety of the following sentence; (b) There is a pause between the higher NP and the following sentence; (c) It sets up the frame into which the following sentence fits. Therefore, "when a proposition or message is realized syntactically as a sentence, the topic must precede what is actually said about it" (Bak, 1981: 223).

1981: 230). Bak's justification of how the delimiter-marked element become a topic goes like this. First of all, they are located at the same position as the topic particle –*nun*. They also show very similar behaviors to those of –*nun* in some syntactic constructions. Consider, for example, double subject and reflexivization constructions.[12]

(15) a. (Double subject construction)
Chelswu – nun [-to, -man, -kkaci] salam – i coh-ta.
TP also, only, even man - NM good-FE
'At least [also, only, even] Chelswu, he is good in personality.'

b. (Reflexivization)
Chelswu$_i$ – nun [-to, -man, -kkaci] cakicasin$_i$ – i miw-ess-ta
- TP also, only, even self - NM hate-PST-FE
'Chelswu$_i$ too, the self$_i$ was hateful.'
('Chelswu [also, only, even] hates himself, too.')
(Bak, 1981: 247-248)

The sentences in (15) show that –*nun* and other delimiters can be interchanged without affecting their truth-conditional meanings. They also show a syntactic similarity, in that none are derived from a subject-predicate sentence. If so, they have to be generated in the 'higher-NP position' in underlying structure (Bak, 1981: 247). In the case of (15b), Bak argues that the reflexivization of the delimiter-attached NP's with the following subject might be a piece of secondary evidence that it is located at the 'higher-NP position.'

On the other hand, Bak argues that there is a difference in their use between the particle –*nun* and delimiters in terms of semantics. Unlike the particle –*nun* which

[12] In Bak (1981), the double subject construction is also called 'topic-subject construction.' In his original examples with relation to delimiters, there is a distinction between –*nun* without stress and –*nun* with stress. The former is not a delimiter, but a default topic marker, and the latter which has traditionally been known as the –*nun* of contrastive focus is labeled as a delimiter (Yang, 1972). Specifically, the latter is understood as having focal information – i.e., focus-topic (Bak, 1981: 256). Bak's argument has something to be desired. For example, his focus is on the sentence-initial appearance of –*nun*.

tends to appear, by and large, with a definite entity; delimiters can co-occur with definite or indefinite ones despite the presuppostional information. For example,

(16) (With definite)

a. Chelswu – to swukcey-man hay – ss – ta
-also homework-only do-PST-FE
'Also Chelswu did only homework.'

(With indefinite)

b. (motwu kwaynchanuntey,) han salam – man pay – ka aphu-ta
all all-right but, one man - only stomach-NM aching-FE
('Everybody is all right, but) only one person has a stomachache.

c. (Chelswu-ka cheyphotoyessta. Kuliko) chengnyen sey salma–to
-NM got-arrested and young men three person-also
[-kkaci] cheyphotoy-ess-ta.
even get arrested-PST-FE
'(Chelswu got arrested and) three young men also [even] got arrested.'
(Bak, 1981: 251-253)

In Bak's discussion, the appearance of delimiters with indefinite entities plays an important role in interpreting their semantic features. According to him, indefinite entities do not carry the feeling of 'aboutness' in nature, since it is impossible to talk about indefinite entities. This reasoning leads him to the conclusion that delimiters do not have the semantic feature 'aboutness.' Since 'aboutness' is considered an inherent characteristic of topic, he further claims that the delimiters can't mark typical topics. The remark that it is impossible to talk about indefinite entities is obviously fallacious.

There is one more thing we should mention with relation to the interpretation of delimiters. It is a 'focus-topic' interpretation which is attributable to the *–nun* of

contrastive focus. That is, categorizing this type of *–nun* into a delimiter,[13] Bak (1981: 257) assumes that "delimiter-attached NP's can occur only when some textual presupposition prevails in the discourse and the focal information is taken as the topic." Observe the following.

(17) A: Chelswu – nun meli – ka aphuta.
- TP head – NM aching:FE
'Chelswu has a headache.'

B: (a) kulay? Yenghi – to meli – ka aphuntey.
really - also head-NM aching: IE
'Really? Yenghi too, (she) has a headache.'

(b) anya. Yenghi – man [-nun] meli – ka apha.
no only head-NM aching:FE
'No. Only Yenghi has a headache.'

In (17B), *malika aphuta* 'has a headache' is regarded as presupposed information based on (17A). 'Yenghi' attached with the delimiter *–to* refers to refer to the only new referent, and thus it carries focal information – i.e., it is focus-topic. Since delimiters do not have the 'aboutness' meaning, according to Bak, this topic is less typical to him. It is a topic only in the sense that it is in the higher NP position.

Interestingly, Bak classifies this type of topic with delimiters as 'marked topics' distinct from the NP-*nun,* which is less marked. The claim that NP-delimiters

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[13] Admittedly, the delimiter of *–nun* with stress "is a puzzling aspect of what is apparently a single formative *–nun*" (Bak, 1981: 246). In fact, there is some evidence which shows that the delimiter *–nun* and other delimiter behave differently. For example,

Chelswu – to [–man, –kkaci, –nun] salam – i coh – ta
–also [only, even, at least] man - NM good-FE
'Chelswu, he is good in personality.'

(Bak, 1981: 247)

Under the condition in which delimiters are used, it is possible to leave out the rest of the sentence which is regarded as presupposed information. However, unlike the other delimiters in the example, omission of presupposed information (e.g., *salami cohta* 'be good in personality') is unacceptable in the case of *–nun*.

are more marked lies in the fact that (a) they have no semantic meaning of 'aboutness' and (b) they are more prominent in that they involve focus information at the same time.

2.2.3.2 Pronoun

English pronouns are a category of much linguistic interest, because as a subject-prominent language, English requires a subject in every sentence. The subject pronoun usually corefers with an antecedent and thus serves important roles in both grammar and discourse. In addition, pronouns are sensitive to gender, number and grammatical case. For example,

(18) a. John bought three bikes and he gave Mary one of them.
b. John hates Mary, but she loves him.

In these simple examples, the roles of pronouns are prominent. They take advantage of their internal properties to track the gender, number, and case of a referent at sentence level. At discourse level, some discourse functions are performed by pronouns. A ready example is the continued topic or topic identification. Therefore, it can be said that the use of pronouns in English is a pure reflection of their structural roles.

Korean pronouns have a drastically different role from that of their English counterparts. The grammatical functions of the pronominal system is not as elaborate in Korean as in English. Hwang (1983: 53) states that "the category of pronouns in Korean is a "mixed bag" in terms of their forms and functions." Yet, the form of pronouns in Korean is not that simple, in the sense that it reflects socio-cultural functions in discourse processing. According to her, the following functional

considerations are the main factors for the choice of pronouns in Korean.[14]

(19) a. deictic relation: proximity/remoteness in time, space, thing (for third person and non-humanness arguments)
b. humanness/non-humanness
c. gender only for third person singular
d. various social aspects such as speaker-hearer power relations, social distance, age difference, etc.

Aside from the social functions, Korean pronouns are used for two other purposes: deictic and anaphoric (occasionally, cataphoric). The former has to do with some gestures pointing to the referent in a discourse. The latter has to do with referring to some items mentioned in the preceding (sometimes, following) utterance. For this reason, they are characterized as having 'much more multi-dimensional functions' and 'much more diverse forms' in comparison with English or other Indo-European

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[14] Chang's (1996: 37) classification reveals a similar observation.

Personal Pronouns

Person	Number: Singular	Number: plural	
1st	*na*	*wuli (-tul)*	plain, nonhonorific
	ce	*ce-huy (-tul)*	self-lowering
	sosayng		self-lowering, archaic (male)
	sonye		self-lowering, archaic (female)
2nd	*ne*	*nehuy*	plain
	caney	*caney-tul*	plain, between adults
	tangsin	*tangsin-tul*	plain, between adults
	kutay	*kutay-tul*	poetic
	caki		plain and intimate; between husband and wife
	tayk	formal; lit. (your) household	
3rd	*i/ku/ce pwun*	*- tul*	honorific
	i	*- tul*	plain
	salam	*- tul*	plain
	nom	*- tul*	pejorative (for male)
	nyen	*- tul*	pejorative (for female)

Definite Pronouns

	Things	Time	Place	Person	
	Kes	*cey/ttay*	*ki*	*i*	*pwun*
Proximal:	*i (yo) i-kes*	*i-cey/ttay*	*ye-ki*	*i-i*	*ii-pwun*
Mesial	*: ku (ko) ku-kes*	*ku-ttay*	*ke-ki*	*ku-i*	*ku-pwun*
Distal	*: ce (co) ce-kes*	*cep-ttay*	*ce-ki*	*ce-i*	*ce-pwun*

languages. Hwang takes *ku salam* 'the person' as an example. She states that it has three different interpretations, depending on context. They are: (a) a third person pronoun (approximately 'he'), (b) a noun meaning 'husband' and (c) a definite NP. In (20b), *ku salam* has two interpretations: a definite NP or a third person pronoun.

(20) a. yeysnal yeys – cek - ey han nongpwu – ka sal - ass - ta.
old day old- time- LOC a(one) farmer- NM live - PST – FE
'Once upon a time there lived a farmer.'

b. ku salam – i halwu - nun kil - ul ka – ta,
the man- NM one day – TP street-ACC go-while,
'One day while he (the man) (was) walking (on a) street,'

c. *0* soy ccokali-lul hana cwu - ess - ta.
(he) iron piece-ACC one pick up-PST –FE.
'(He) picked up a piece of iron.'

(Hwang, 1983: 47-48)

It seems that the reason the deictic pronoun *ku salam* has two readings is due to its semantic and discourse roles. Hwang (1983) argues that there is a neutral form of the third person pronoun: *ku*. It serves the same function as English *he*. Based on this assumption, she claims that "the Korean *ku salam* can be placed somewhere between the English pronoun *he* and the noun phrase *the person/man* (i.e., pronoun and definite NP, respectively) in terms of its semantic and discourse-functional role" (p. 53). That is, it is more semantically loaded than *he* but less so than *the person/man*. Her idea is schematized in Figure 2-1.

English	*he*	*the man*	*the boy*
Zero-Anaphora	Pronoun	Definite NP	
Zero-Anaphora	Pronoun/Deictic Pronoun	Definite NP	
Korean	*ku / ku salam*	*ku salam* *ku soneyn* (the boy)	

Figure 2-1. Third-person pronoun and def. NP in English and Korean (Hwang, 1983: 54)

The example shows that the Korean forms apply to the same scale as those of a language like English but with different gradations. While Korean has a large number of pronoun forms corresponding to their social functions, their structural contributions are relatively simple. Sohn (1994: 281) even uses the term 'free pronoun' to describe them; just because very frequently, a pronoun may appear freely with demonstratives (*i* 'this,' *ku* 'that (near you),' *ce* 'that over there'). As a result, pronouns in Korean do not contribute to topic continuity and other discourse functions as much as the English third person pronouns do. Thus, we give no further discussion of Korean pronouns in this study.

2.2.3.3 NP Ellipsis

NP ellipsis, which is known as zero anaphora (hereafter, ZA) is the main focus of topic-related studies. Ellipsis is the suppression of linguistic elements in discourse as well as in sentences. In Givón's (1993) sense, the information carried by such items in discourse is stored in short-term memory. It is easily retrievable and readily available in the discourse. The identification of ZA is determined by syntactic as well as discoursal factors. First of all, the referent of ZA can be transparent through the meaning of the syntactic predicate of a given clause with ZA. It is also clear with the

consideration of information in the surrounding discourse environment. Consequently, ZA is a cross-linguistic tool for maintaining topic continuity. ZA is common in Korean discourse.

According to Bak (1981), the early grammarians hold a simple position on the phenomenon of ellipsis. Their reasoning is simple. That is, incomplete sentences by (NP or VP) ellipsis "are derived from full sentences by deleting elements for 'simplicity' or for 'avoiding repetitions'" (Bak, 1981: 17). This simplistic view is based on a structural analysis only.

Later studies of ZA take a discourse-functional orientation (Hwang, 1983; Kang, 1990). ZA is allowed in some positions (especially, clause-initial position) provided that semantic and discourse requirements for its occurrence are satisfied. With regard to topic-related studies, the appearance of ZA as an anaphoric form is found to be significant for topic continuity.

2.3 Remaining Issues and Research Questions

2.3.1 Critical Summary of Previous Studies

In the preceding sections, a brief review of topic-related studies in Korean was presented. Most of the studies have been centered on syntax and morphology. Syntactically, the sentence-initial position is an optimal slot for topic realization. The formal approach (e.g., transformational-generative model) typically tries to describe topic purely syntactic terms. The topic in Korean is also understood as a morphological phenomenon because it is signaled by the so-called delimiters (i.e., post-nominal markers). They include such particles as *–to* 'also,' *–man* 'only,' and *–kkaci* 'even.'

The most typical topic marker is *–nun*, which is treated sometimes as one of the delimiters but sometimes as an independent particle outside the set of delimiters.

The function of the particle *–nun* has been under heated debate. This might be because the particle can be subject to dual interpretation. It can be regarded as having a thematic meaning as well as a contrast meaning. In earlier studies, the distinction between thematic and contrastive interpretations was in part attributed to its syntactic positions. That is, the basic meaning of *–nun* can be characterized by 'aboutness' for topical interpretation (Bak, 1981; Sung, 1985). This topical interpretation is clearest at the sentence-initial position. But on the other hand, it is more generally associated with a 'contrastiveness' meaning when it occurs in any non-initial position. The contrastiveness effect is weaker, the closer the *–nun* is to sentence-initial position (Sohn, 1986; Choi, 1997). Kim (1985) regards this contrativeness as a focus and calls it a contrastive focus.

Previous studies characterize delimiters as being (focused) topic (Yang, 1972; Bak, 1981). Bak in particular claims that compared to the particle *–nun*, delimiters lack the basic meaning of 'aboutness.' In this regard, he argues that NP-delimiters are less 'marked' in topicality than the NP-*nun*. Though we admit that this is the case, the question that arises is how delimiters indicate a topic without the basic relational property 'aboutness.'

Further, we reviewed a few studies that deal with the use of pronouns and ZA with respect to topic realization. Their analyses of anaphora in Korean have been exclusively on the model of Western languages, especially English. From the perspective of topic continuity, the physical occurrences of these forms are well

documented. But on what functional basis the appearance of each specific form can be justified still remains an open question.

From the above, it is obvious that there have been many topic-related studies in Korean, most of them are morphosyntactic. Little research has been done to examine the relations between form and function (e.g., full NP vs. ZA). Above all, there is no effort to unify the seemingly unrelated "meanings" of the particle *–nun*.

2.3.2 Some Overlooked Areas in Topic Studies

The critical discussion in Section 2.3.1 presents a general picture of Korean topic. Most of the studies represent sentence-oriented analyses. This is mainly because they pursue one common goal: What is a topic entity in a given sentence? In other words, they try to identify the topical entity by drawing on morphological and syntactic devices and/or semantic interpretations. Thus, the morphological marker *–nun* and the sentence-initial position are identified as topic devices. Alternatively, a presupposed entity occurring with a delimiter is recognized as a topic.

With the growing interest in discourse, topic is recognized not just as an entity in a sentence, but also as a discourse notion (Keenan and Schieffelin, 1976; Brown and Yule, 1983; Bublitz, 1988; Goutsos, 1997; Chu, 1998). In general, the notion of discourse topic is understood as one around which a stretch of discourse is organized and developed. It is related to the interactional nature of several discourse components. Simply put, it is concerned with "*how* we structure what we say" in Goutsos's (1997, original emphasis) sense. In this *how*-perspective, Chu (1998: 328) argues that natural topic formation is done in three steps: 'introduction,' 'pick-up,' and 'continuation.' According to him, the topic in discourse cannot be established just through the

introduction process. The introduction must be followed by some supportive actions, e.g., the 'pick up' process. That is, a proposed topic requires the following uptake to obtain the status of a discourse topic. Through all these processes, a discourse topic is firmly established.

A more detailed topic-introducing strategy is provided by Geluykens (1991, 1993). He is mainly concerned with topic-introducing strategies at a local level. The schematic representation of such strategies is given below (1991:186).

(21) -Stage 1 (A): topic-introduction (bare NP = referent)
-Stage 2 (B): acknowledgement signal
-Stage 3 (A): topic-establishment (second mention of referent)

The underlying assumption of this topic management process is related to the interactional nature of the generating process. That is, the interlocutors involved engage in intimate and structured collaboration for introducing new discourse topics through these sequences.[15] He calls this engagement a collaborative dimension by which "discourse topics are not straightforwardly introduced in a unilateral way, but are rather negotiated through an interactional process" (1993: 182).

Regarding the matter of how thematic structures in ongoing interactions are formulated, some researchers wonder what linguistic markers (including construction) are used to signal the appearance or shift of topic. Several linguistic devices are suggested with various names: 'try-marker' (Keenan and Schieffelin, 1976), 'topicalizers' (Button and Casey, 1984), 'topic-elicitor' (Bublitz, 1988). The following is an example the so-called topicalizer in discourse.

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[15] Note that, as Geluykens admits, not all instances undertake the same explicit three-stage interaction. Some of them go through a long process. In view of this fact, Geluykens (1993: 186) argues that "these instances, rather than being exceptional, confirm our claims about the interactional nature of topic management."

(22) A: Anything else to report (Topic-initial elicitor)
(0.3)
B: Uh: : : : : m: : :,
(0.4)
Getting my hair cut tomorrow, = (Possible topic-initial)
→ A: =Oh really? (Topicalizer)

((continues on topic))

(Button and Casey, 1984: 182)

In (22), 'else' is used as a topic-initial elicitor which "provides an open, though bounded, domain from which events may be selected and offered as possible topic initials" (Button and Casey, 1984: 170). Furthermore, they argue that topicalizers (marked by an arrow in (22)) both "upgrade the newsworthiness of the previously downgraded reported event, and operate to transform a possible topic into an item for talking to" (p. 182). As signaled by the sign 'continues on topic,' the reported topic is upgraded for further talk by the use of a topicalizer in (22).

In a broad sense, these functional markers are labeled as discourse markers whose main purpose is to help the speaker organize the discourse. Regarding the functional role of discourse markers, Stenstrom (1994: 63) argues that discourse markers serve "to start a conversation; they serve to introduce a digression and mark the resumption of the old topic; and they signal the end of a conversation." Further studies notice that participants use discourse markers to signal how their contributions are related to prior and subsequent talks with respect to topic organization (Schiffrin, 1987; Bublitz, 1988; Goutsos, 1997). To illustrate, see example (23), in which the discourse marker 'incidentally' is used to signal topic digression.

(23) <1> B <…> you see Joe Eccleston wants to do a historical dictionary of Indic pronunciation – but as he says <…> that can't be done until the Indiography comes out ….
I have incidentally . :m persuaded the: British Museum – to
<5> *purchase . microfilms* and or Xerox copies of every single item in my indiography they don't have..
a good for you
B which is –
a good for you
<10> B well it means that there'll be one *better - - for the whole thing you know*
a **m m (etc)** that's very good
B get at everything in some way or other. And I've already put in
<15> a m m (etc)
B the first – sort of order - (sylls) **(laughs)**
a **(laughs)** probably the BM's now applying to the British Academy ##sylls## I think the Council would
B trying to get the funds to keep up with Pawsons
<20> a probably have a better chance of winning through than you would well : you mentioned that there was one other thing you wanted to say
B yes the last thing I wanted to say was this :m – in the event that the Ford does not come through <…>

(Bublitz, 1988: 113, modified)

A digression is introduced by the use of the discourse marker 'incidentally' in line 4. The digression continues up to line 20 with which B readopts the previous main topic. Regarding the use of this special marker, Bublitz (1988: 113) states that 'incidentally' is "not used to mark a digression in general but only those particular ones with which the speakers move noticeably away from the current topic." In the same sense, Stenstrom (1994: 63) argues that discourse markers help the speaker organize the discourse, for instance, introducing a digression.

Korean is just as discourse-oriented a language as any other. Thus the cooperative interactions in a given context are significant. In spite of this fact, little attention has been paid to dynamic topic organizing processes in Korean discourse. This is in part because most previous studies deal with some specific markers (e.g.,

–nun) on a sentence basis. Now, our goal is clear. To complement the previous research, the present study will investigate the dynamic topical relation in the process of discourse, adopting a discourse-functional approach. For this, we examine some discourse markers, focusing on their procedural information to determine topic organization.

2.3.3 Approach Taken in the Present Study

In view of the above discussions, the present study formulates the following hypotheses for topic phenomena in Korean.

(a) Different topic expressions are closely tied in with such basic discourse functions as 'aboutness' and 'clause-linking,' and with such pragmatic notions as 'informativeness'.

(b) Although topic is supposed to carry given information and focus is supposed to carry new information, it is not contradictory for the *–nun* marked topic to carry a focus. The focus that coincides with a topic, however, must be contrastive in nature.

(c) There are other ways to encode topic expressions than *–nun* in a discourse, such as *–nuntey*, *–isscanha,* etc. They, however, mark different degrees of topicality and have additional communicative functions.

In the process of our investigation, theoretical notions, such as 'marked vs. unmarked topic,' 'informativeness vs. information status,' will be heavily utilized as the foundation for our arguments. Based on these notions, it will be argued that in terms of the basic topical function 'aboutness,' a more explicitly marked topic expresses a higher degree of topicality. For example, a lexical noun phrase with a morphological marker is more topical than one without a morphological marker, which in turn is more topical than a pronominal phrase. On the other hand, when the communicative function of accessibility to information is under consideration, the more easily accessible

information a topic carries, the less explicitly marked it is. As a result, a lexical noun phrase refers to a less easily accessible referent than a pronominal one. From another perspective, when informativeness and information status are distinguished, there will be no contradiction for a topic to carry a focus. In spite of the fact that a topic tends to be associated with given information and a focus tends to be associated with new information, a topic under a focus does not simultaneously carry both given and new information. Instead it is highly informative in relation to the rest of the sentence. Moreover, all these principles seem to be applicable to the distinctions between the morphological markers *–nun*, *–nuntey*, and *–isscanha*.

CHAPTER THREE
MARKED VS. UNMARKED TOPIC

3.1 Introduction

As briefly mentioned in Chapter 2, the discourse/functional approach claims that linguistic structure is not arbitrary, rather it is motivated, to a considerable degree, by communicative needs (function). Based on the assumption that form and meaning/ function are inseparable, discourse/functional grammar is to provide an explanatory description of systematic correspondences between form and function by explicitly formulating the relations between them within the context of discourse. A simple but typical example for this is found in the choice of nominal expressions in many languages. In general, there are several forms of nominal expression such as definite and indefinite nouns, pronouns, and the zero anaphor. The way we choose a given form of nominal expression and its syntactic position in a sentence is strongly influenced by the function it performs in discourse (Hopper and Thompson, 1980,1984; Fox, 1987; Givón, 1993, 1995; Lambrecht, 1994; Chafe, 1994; Chu, 1998, 2000; to name a few).

In this chapter, we look at the relationships between form and function in general and those between the forms of Korean topic and their functions in particular. For this purpose, the present study is based on a system developed by Chu (1998, 2000a). Korean, as a topic-prominent language like Chinese, uses the same sets of forms to serve similar functions as Chinese does, in spite of the structural differences between the two languages. Therefore, our discussion sometimes includes Chinese

examples compared with the corresponding Korean forms. In this way we can provide a unified explanation for Korean topics in terms of markedness.

This chapter proceeds in the following way. In Section 3.2, we discuss a number of traditional discourse/functional concepts. In Section 3.3, we critically review previous works on the study of the markedness of the topic. In Section 3.4, we provide a unified explanation for topics in Korean in terms of the relation between form and function based on relative topic markedness. A summary is provided in Section 3.5.

3.2 Background

In a truth-conditional sense, the use of different forms for the same referential meaning is insignificant to their interpretation. For example, the two sentences *Tom has a new car* and *He has a new car* may represent the same semantic proposition. The choice between the two referring forms (*Tom* and *He*), however, is a reflection of the informational status of each. Much literature has been written on informational status and its relation to linguistic form. Unfortunately, much confusion remains. In the following subsections, we clarify some crucial notions on which our later analysis will be based.

3.2.1 Status of Information

In this section, we sketch the ways that information is treated in linguistic study. Information is generally categorized as either 'new' or 'given' in the literature. But

defining 'given' and 'new' has been an extremely challenging issue.[1] Different studies depend on different operational criteria and therefore arrive at different conclusions.

Chafe (1976) defines 'given' and 'new' by introducing the cognitive concept 'consciousness.' That is, given information is what the speaker assumes to be in the consciousness of the addressee at the time of the utterance, and new information is what is introduced into the addressee's consciousness by the speaker's statement.

Prince (1981) makes an attempt to elaborate on the old/new distinction on the basis of 'familiarity hierarchy.' Her intention is to capture the relation between the form of the text and the communicative assumptions made by the hearer from the speaker's point of view. The following taxonomy is proposed by Prince (1981):[2]

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[1] The same criticism is made in Prince's (1981: 225) given-new taxonomy: "this notion has never received a satisfactory characterization that would enable a working linguist…to actually put it to use."

[2] A 'new' category is invoked when the speaker introduces an entity into discourse for the first time. This has two types: 'brand-new' and 'unused.' The latter refers to an entity which is assumed to be in the addressee's model. An 'anchor' means that an entity is anchored if the NP referring to it is linked to some other entity, which itself is not brand-new.

An entity is 'inferrable' if the speaker assumes that the addressee can infer it, by plausible reasoning, from evoked or other inferable entities. An entity is 'textually evoked' if it was introduced earlier in the discourse. It is 'situationally evoked' if the addressee evokes it from the situation.

An elaboration on this model has more recently been made by Prince (1992) from a hearer-discourse interaction perspective. The following is summarized in Chu (1996).

Hearer	Discourse	
old	old	already evoked
old	new	has not been evoked but speaker believes it's old to hearer
new	new	has not been evoked and speaker believes it's new to hearer
new	old	has been evoked but speaker believes hearer is not aware of it

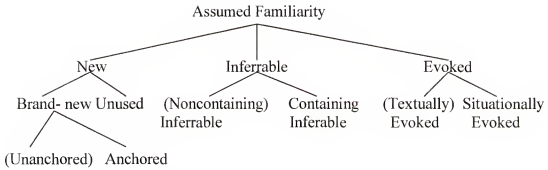

Figure 3-1. Familiarity Hierarchy (Prince, 1981: 237)

The taxonomy clearly shows that the determination is not a simple matter of one dimensional consideration. Such factors as context, situation, and participant inference are all involved in distinguishing between givenness and newness. Compared with Chafe's distinction, Prince's (1981) does contribute to the better understanding of how information may differ in its status. But its main drawback, as Chu (1996) says, lies in the fact that her analysis does not give much insight into how information is utilized in actual discourse, in spite of its detailed taxonomic categorization.

What is common to the two analyses reviewed above and most other analyses is that the distinction made is rather static and conceptual. In other words, they all pay sole attention to classifying linguistic entities in discrete categories. In doing so, they fail to take into consideration the dynamic nature of informative value (see Section 3.2.2) of an entity in discourse context, i.e., how it is used.

To illustrate this point, let's look at the following.

(1) **Your father** did it.
(Renkema, 1993: 150, stress in bold)

For the simple sentence in (1), the above analyses are all helpless to identify the status of the phrase 'your father.' According to them, it carries a piece of given or familiar information. As Chu (2000b) points out, however, there is no explanation why this

piece of given/familiar information has to be stressed and is able to carry a new message. This is a simple case, but it provides a strong indication that a clear-cut taxonomy does not suffice.

In view of this annoying problem, there are two possible solutions to the discrete categorization of information status. One is a cognitive or degree-of-activation approach, i.e., it focuses on the extent to which an entity is activated in a discourse. Representatives of this approach are Chafe (1994), Lambrecht (1994), and Dryer (1996). The other is rather a usage-based account for the dynamic status of referents in terms of informativeness. Chu (1998) is the advocate of this model, which will be used throughout this study.

3.2.1.1 Status of activation

As a cognitive category, activation has to do with the mental status of discourse participants. It is an assumption about the reader-hearer's state made by the speaker-writer. As a matter of fact, the dilemma between old and new illustrated in (1) above require a consideration of the non-discrete treatment of activation of referents in the mind of the reader/hearer.

Chafe (1976) is one of the earliest studies which emphasize the importance of the cognitive concept 'the hearer's consciousness at the time of an utterance.' As seen in Section 3.2.1, Chafe's distinction of new and given information is also based on this cognitive concept. This point is clearly stated: "our minds contain a very large amount of knowledge of information, and that only a very small amount of this information can be focused on, or be 'active' at any one time" (op.cit. 22). Given this assumption, three activation states are discussed: active, semi-active (or accessible) and inactive. Active

states refer to a concept in a person's focus of consciousness and inactive is a concept which is not focused yet. Semi-active, as it might be assumed, is between these two states. This classification, however, is still discrete in nature.

Dryer (1996) goes further in elaborating activation status. He proposes a continuum for degree of activation with four different phases. Referents which are in the center of attention are the highest in activation and nonactivated referents are the lowest in activation. This continuous status is summarized in Figure 2.

None/Low ←——————————————————→ High

nonactivated < recently activated but now semi-deactivated accessible to activation < activated but not focus of attention < focus of attention

Figure 3-2. Continuum of Activation (Dryer, 1996: 482)

The schema in Figure 2 is based on three assumptions. First, change of time is one of the factors influencing the status of activation. That is, the more recently mentioned an entity is, it is more active than any mentioned earlier. Second, the activation of one entity may cause some other entities to be more accessible. As Dryer (1996: 481) puts it, "the activation of one entity may cause entities which are related to the first entity by reference or other types of association to be highly accessible to activation in the sense that they may be just below the threshold of activation, and thus not activated, but still quite distinct from entities which are fully nonactivated." In the consecutive sentences, *John came into the room with a woman we had never met. We wondered where his wife was.* The referent 'his wife' is more accessible to activation for the hearer due to the preceding context. Finally, depending on whether there is 'focus of attention,' the

degree of activation might be different among activated entities. That is, the entity with 'focus of attention' is higher on the scale of activation.

Despite its different degrees of activation, this framework still fails to address the issue in the example in (1). To solve the dilemma, Chu (1995, 1998) proposes a two-tier structure of information, which we now discuss.

3.2.1.2 Two tiers of information: source vs. management

Another approach to information structure[3] is proposed in Chu (1995, 1998). The motivation underlying his proposal is that previous studies on information are limited to one plane -- what he calls 'source tier,' where information is distinguished under two categories, given and new. Then, given information is characterized by some semantic features such as definiteness, presupposition, identifiability, etc. In this connection, it is treated as the main force to evoke topic interpretation. Such an account is not satisfactory in cases like the example in (1), where given information carries the main message. To overcome the difficulty found in previous studies, Chu hypothesizes two separate levels of information structure: the source tier and the management tier. Let's look at his operational definition of the two terms in the following:

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[3] Lambrecht (1994: 5) defines information structure in the following way:

> INFORMATION STRUCTURE: That component of sentence grammar in which propositions as conceptual representations of states of affairs are paired with lexicogrammatical structures in accordance with the mental states of interlocutors who use and interpret these structures as units of information in given discourse contexts.

The formal manifestation of information structure is achieved by various linguistic tools such as prosody, grammatical markers, syntactic constituents, word order, etc. (Lambrecht 1994: 6). What Lambrecht defines is one of the two tiers of information structure by Chu. Chu calls it 'information management.' The other tier is source of information that deals with whether a piece of information is given or new, activated or non-activated.

> Information is to be treated from two different perspectives: (a) where it comes from, designated by the label **Source,** and (b) how it is used, designated by the label **Management**. While 'source' itself is self-explanatory, 'management' is defined as 'whether or not a linguistic form is used to inform --- i.e., whether or not it is informative. (Chu, 1995: 37, original emphasis)

The idea behind his proposal is how information is used and managed in actual communication. The management of information does not depend on how familiar the referent is to the hearer at the moment. It rather concerns how much knowledge is added to what is already known to the hearer.

From the 'source' perspective, the NP 'your father' in (1) carries given information, whereas from the 'management' perspective, it clearly adds knowledge to the fact that "someone did it" by specifying that that someone is "your father." The next section discusses the details of the two-tiered structure of information and its relationship with topicality.

3.2.2 Infomativeness and Topicality

The discussion in Section 3.2.1.2 identifies the two tiers of information structure: source (where it comes from) and management (how informative it is). Example (1) shows that the split into two tiers is helpful to the understanding of how information works in discourse. The next question is: Exactly what is meant by more or less informative – i.e., higher or lower in informative value?

According to Chu, the determination of information value rests on "whether and to what extent a linguistic form serves to add information to what has already existed in the repertoire of the hearer/reader" (1996: 42). To use a slightly different vocabulary, a linguistic item that is highly informative adds knowledge to what is known to the addressee. We have seen that *your father* in (1) is high in informative value exactly

because it adds information to what the addressee has already known, despite the given information it carries. In this example, the signal for its high informative value is the focal stress. It is further believed that degree of informativeness is correlated with syntactic structure and the status of information. Chu (1996: 44) gives the following scale in Figure 3.

LIV ←——————————————————→ HIV

subj. w/ given info	<	subj. w/ new info	<	assert. pred. w/given info	<	assert. pred. w/new info

Figure 3-3. Degree of Informativeness[4]

The scale works on the assumption that everything else is equal. The relative informative value of any linguistic construction is represented in a cline of values with high informative value (HIV) at one end and low informative value (LIV) at the other.

The distinction between the two tiers of information may shed fresh light on the understanding of topichood, as well. The general assumption is that topics differ in their degree of predictability, acceptability, attention, etc., which may be subsumed under topicality. For instance, Givón (1989: 217) presents the following scale to capture the relationship between topicality and the forms of topic.

[4] LIV: Low Informative Value, HIV: High Informative Value
assert: assertion, info: information, pred: predicated, subj: subject, w/: with

Table 3-1. Forms of Topic and Degree of Topicality

Most predictable / accessible referent

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a. Zero anaphora
b. Unstressed / clitic pronoun / agreement
c. Stressed / independent pronoun
d. Full definite noun
e. Restrictively modified definite noun
f. Indefinite noun

Least predictable / accessible referent

Everything else being equal, the more predictable or accessible, the higher topicality it possesses. Another correlational factor is informative value. That is, the less explicit the form, the lower the informative value it indicates. As a result, low informative value is correlated with high topicality.

In Givón's framework, topicality is a correlation of the various linguistic forms. As example (1) shows, however, the noun phrase *your father*, which carries given information, should qualify for a topic, even though its topicality might be very low. But with a focal stress, the informative value is simply too high for it to be a topic without a contrastive context. In this regard, Chu (1998) further suggests that in a pragmatic sense, a highly informative topic has to be heavily marked.

In sum, Chu (1995:2) claims that "the application of the two-tier system not only circumvents the difficulty of using two contradictory terms (given and new) to describe the status and function of the same form. It also clarifies some of the controversial interpretations of the behavior of noun phrases in Mandarin Chinese." His main point is that in an unmarked structure the subject (or topic) is lower in informative value than the predicate/comment. Otherwise, a structure will have to be marked, for example, by the heavy stress on *your father* in sentence (1) in order for it to be highly informative.

3.2.3 Focus vs. Topic

Topic and focus, as two mutually exclusive terms, have been under debate in linguistic literature. In a traditional sense, topic and focus have generally been regarded as opposite notions. That is, where one occurs the other does not. In one sense, they form a complementary set. Word order and information status are the typical mechanisms used to define the complementarity of the two notions. In terms of word order relation, Herring (1990:163) points out that "starting with the work on 'functional sentence perspective' by Prague School linguists, and continuing through contemporary generative grammar, a correlation has been noted between 'topic/theme' in sentence-initial position, and 'focus' of a constituent within the 'comment/rheme' by means of rightward movement processes." That is, topic comes first and focus last. In terms of information status, topic is generally associated with given information and focus, with new information. That is, focus is the new information conveyed about a topic. Vallduvi (1992: 36) calls this logico-semantic proposition the 'topic-focus' articulation.

However, the relation between the two is not that simple. There has been an increasing interest in the fact that topic cannot be simply defined as the complement of focus. For example, both can be said to carry 'contrast,' thus the terms 'contrastive focus' and 'contrastive topic,' though contrast is actually treated as a specific kind of focus. We will try to clarify the relations between topic, focus and contrast.

3.2.3.1 Contrastiveness and focus

In the traditional sense, the notion 'contrastive' has been regarded as one of the features characterizing 'focus.' Chafe (1976) provides a good example for what contrastiveness is about:

(2) RONALD made the hamburgers.[5] (Chafe, 1976: 33)

For the interpretation of this sentence, Chafe lists the factors involved: (i) background knowledge that hamburgers were ready, (ii) a set of possible candidates for the cook, and (iii) the assertion of which candidate is the correct one. To him, the realization of contrastiveness is manifested by the placement of higher-than-usual pitch and stronger-than-usual stress on the focus of contrast. The function of the focus of contrast is to provide information that satisfies the addressee's curiosity about 'who is the one among some possible candidates that made the hamburgers?'

The concept of contrastive focus is one of the two main factors used by Dik (1978) to present a taxonomy of focus types. Dik's hierarchy is given in Figure 4 (cited from Dijk, 1997:97).

[5] The small capitals indicate a high pitch and a strong stress is on the stressed syllable of the word.

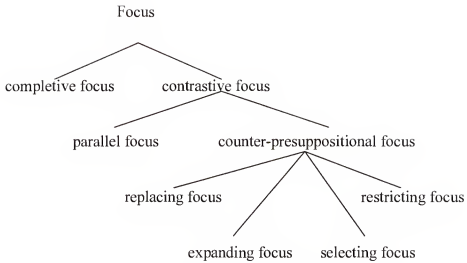

Figure 3-4. Taxonomy of Focus Types

Dik's interest is in communicative function estimated by the speaker. According to him, the function of focus is to present information about the difference in pragmatic knowledge between speaker and addressee. Information is made salient by highlighting a focused constituent through intonation, word order, focus particles, or focus constructions.

In Gundel (1998), three ways of distinguishing focus are made: psychological, semantic and contrastive focus. The first way is characterized by the psychological notion of focus of attention in relation to some entity. The second refers to new information predicated about the topic. The final one is defined as "imposed salience on a given constituent … that the speaker wants to call the addressee's attention to in order to contrast it with other potential members of a relevant 'contrast set'" (p. 298). She further argues, accordingly, that contrastive focus serves the function of bringing an entity into psychological focus which is "likely to be continued as topics of subsequent utterances" (p. 294).

From the above, it is clear that the notion contrast is one of the main characteristics of focal information. Its main function is to make constituents prominent in order to draw the hearer's attention to a particular entity, that is, being contrasted, implicitly or explicitly, with something else.

3.2.3.2 Contrastiveness and topic

So far we have looked at the relations between contrast and focus. But the application of contrastiveness is not limited to focus interpretation. The same notion is used to characterize and interpret certain kinds of topic. In the literature, contrastiveness is said to be associated with topic because contrasted elements can often be expressive of old information in the same sense that topics are.

Herring (1990: 164) argues that "contrastively focused arguments are already explicitly or implicitly present in the discourse context (an observation which correlates with their tendency to be grammatically definite)." Simply put, the information status of a contrastive focus is 'given (or implied).'

Myhill (1992: 25) takes a similar view of the very same matter, though he uses the term 'contrastive topicalization' instead of 'focus' or 'double-focus.' First, he maintains that the entity being talked about has generally been 'mentioned or implied' in recent discourse. Second, it is used as part of a set with some other entity with which it is being contrasted. The example in (3) is such a case.

(3) **I** made **the cake**. (but **Mary** made **the pie**) (Stress in bold)

In (3), the stressed constituents are contrastively topicalized in Myhill's sense: they are implied in discourse and part of a contrastive set.

Lambrecht (1994: 291) recognizes that there is a close relation between topic and contrastiveness. He labels the union of the two a contrastive topic. Observe the following:

(4) I saw Mary and John yesterday. SHE says HELLO, but HE's still ANGRY at you.

According to him, the two pronouns marked with accents code two active topic referents which are contrasted with one another. This type of topic is a case of mutual contrast, so that it constitutes a typical example of a contrastive topic.

Jacobsen (1992), examining the case of *–wa* in Japanese,[6] also suggests that there is a close relation between topics and contrasted elements. There are two reasons. First, they both represent old information identifiable to the hearer. For example, neither contrastive *–wa* nor topical *–wa* can appear with question words. Second, the nature of topic singles out a particular element from other elements available for reference. Based on this, he comes to the conclusion that "topichood is inherently contrastiveness" (op.cit. 150).

3.2.3.3 Contrastive focus vs. contrastive topic

Having traced the relationships between contrastiveness and focus on the one hand and between contrastiveness and topic on the other, it is now time to look at the similarities and differences between contrastive topic and contrastive focus. By sharing contrastiveness as a common feature, we naturally expect them to be similar in some aspects. Indeed, Givón (1993: 174) argues that "the grammatical notion 'contrast' depends on the more general cognitive dimension of informational **predictability** or its

[6] *–Wa* in Japanese is known as the exact counterpart of Korean topic marker *–mun*.

converse, **counter-expectancy**" [with original emphasis]. Furthermore, he claims that there exists a partial inclusion relation between contrastive focus and topicality in terms of referential importance. This relation is expressed in (5).

(5) If contrastive, then topical (but not necessarily vice versa).
(Givón, 1993: 173)

In (5), 'contrastive' is actually used to represent 'contrastive focus.' Under the 'if-then' condition, the element with contrastive meaning is always subject to the topical interpretation, though a topical element may or may not be under contrastive focus. The statement itself is clear, but the relationship between the two notions is confusing, just because of the usual understanding of topic as something known and presupposed, as opposed to focus/contrast, which is new and asserted.

Gundel (1998) also notes that the basic meaning of contrast is used for focus and topic. Especially in a topic-related talk, she argues that contrastiveness is closely related to topic in the sense that the speaker uses it to affect the addressee's attention state at a particular point in the discourse. To capture the mixed nature of contrast and topic, she uses the term 'contrastively focused topic.' She assumes that a contrasted element carries topical interpretation plus focal meaning. Let's consider the following.

(6) A. I can't decide what to take on the trip. Should I take the coat you bought me?
B. Yes, That COAT I bought for you, I think you should take.

(7) You shouldn't go on the trip without warm clothes.
That COAT I bought you, I think you should take.
(Gundel, 1998: 297)[7]

Each of the examples in (6) and (7) has focused constituents marked in small capitals.

[7] In the original example, there is a distinction between a purely focused element and contrastively focused topic. Here, we just consider the latter (see Gundel, 1998: 297, for detail).

They are contrastive in a given context (thus, phonologically prominent). They are also topic by preposing objects (topicalization, i.e., syntactically prominent). Taken together, the name 'contrastively focused topic' is selected. Unfortunately, the same confusion arises as with Givón's argument above.

As a result of all the confusion in the literature, we want to address the following questions: 1) What is a contrastive topic contrasted with? 2) What is it a topic of? To take just the example in (7) above, the element 'that coat' is used as part of a set (clothes), with some other entities of which it is being contrasted. This entity becomes prominent by the speaker calling the addressee's attention to it (contrastive focus in Gundel's term). The same entity 'that coat' can be said to be a topic in the sense that the rest of the clause is about this referent. In fact, the determination of the topic in a sentence or discourse is not because of contrast but because of aboutness. In other words, a contrastive topic is contrastive because it is part of a set from which it is made prominent. It is at the same time a topic because the statement is about it. A contrastive topic thus receives its contrast from one source and establishes its topic status from a different source. The contrast and topicality are independent of each other, though they converge on the same linguistic form. In this sense, the use of the term 'contrastive topic' might even be a misnomer in linguistic study.[8]

In view of this confusion, Chu (1997, 1998) proposes separating two types of topics: marked vs. unmarked. He claims that only heavily marked topics can carry a contrast or focus. This is so because, as we noticed above, marked topics are highly

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[8] The whole argument made here is due to Prof. Chu through several personal discussions. The author really appreciates his help in putting all my random thoughts into a smooth argument.

informative in the sense that they are capable of adding to the knowledge that is already known to the addressee. This role makes them eligible to carry focus or contrast.

Subsequently, Chu (2000a) further proposes that topic and focus may intersect where the topic is highly marked. Only in the intersected areas can the topic be contrastive. The schematic depiction of this relation is represented in Figure 5.

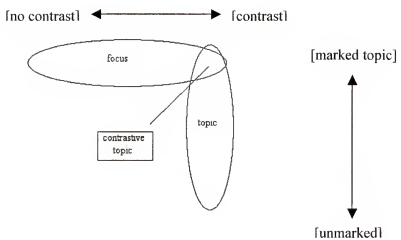

Figure 3-5. Where Focus and Topic Overlap (Chu, 2000a)

This view seems to clarify Givón's statements in (5) above. In other words, a contrastive topic is actually a contrastive focus and a topic placed together on the same nominal. But it contrasts with an entity, which usually exists in the preceding context, while it is the topic of a comment, which necessarily follows it. The notion of marked and unmarked topics has other values in the analysis of topic structures. We will therefore go into more details about the notion in the next section before we start to analyze the Korean topic.

3.3 Previous Works on Marked vs. Unmarked Topic

3.3.1 Myhill

One study on the markedness of topic is found in Myhill (1992). He distinguishes between three types of topic: marked, unmarked and contrastive. A marked topic is defined in terms of the listener's awareness. That is, it "refers to an entity which has not been present in the immediately preceding discourse but it is in the inactive discourse file" (p. 25). Cross-linguistically, according to him, marked topics are realized by some typical topic properties such as intonation break phonologically and sentence-initial syntactically. For example, the left-dislocated construction in English is a typical marked topic, which is illustrated in (8) and (9).

(8) Once there was a wizard. He was very wise, rich, and was married to a beautiful witch. They had two sons. The first was tall and brooding, he spent his days in the forest hunting snails, and his mother was afraid of him. The second was short and vivacious, a bit crazy but always game. **Now the wizard, he lived in Africa.**

(9) Once there was a wizard. ?? **Now the wizard, he lived in Africa**.
(Myhill, 1992: 25, emphasis added)

Compare the two left-dislocated constructions in bold in (8) and (9). In spite of the same topicalized entity 'the wizard', the result is different: appropriate in (8) and inappropriate in (9). Marked topicalization is responsible for the difference. *The wizard* in (8) is not highly activated because it reappears much later as a left-dislocated entity. On the contrary, the same entity in (9) is highly activated, following the introductory construction, which is known as activating a referent for the following discourse. This might account for the inappropriateness of a left-dislocated entity after

an introductory remark.[9] For this, Myhill observes that the marked topic is naturally followed by an unmarked counterpart (e.g., zero anaphor, see below).

A contrastive topic is the entity referred to that "has generally been mentioned or implied recently in the discourse but as part of a set with some other entity with which it is being contrasted" (Myhill, 1992:25). This can be observed in (10).

(10) She made up this horrible food for us. The fish I ate, but the vegetables I couldn't even look at.

Here, the entity 'the fish' is part of a set with the other entity 'the vegetables.' Both of the entities have already been mentioned or as in this case implied in the discourse such that they have been activated. Once again, the determination of contrastive topicalization is dependent on the use of discourse file. In this way, he tries to separate this construction from other focus structures.

Finally, unmarked topics are commonly associated with "entities on the scene in the immediately preceding discourse" (Myhill, 1992: 26). Both pronoun and zero anaphora, as linguistic coding devices, are widely used for unmarked topics.

In sum, the point made by Myhill is that what is rich in linguistic coding devices is called a marked topic (including contrastive) and what is not is called an unmarked topic. In the simplest sense, his observation is based on the surface linguistic expressions, mostly on morphological forms. In terms of discourse, marked topics appear discourse-initially to signal the disruption in a flow of discourse. On the other hand, unmarked topics are used for the continuity of topic. Taken together, marked

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[9] Herring (1990) states that a left-dislocated construction is used to signal a topic shift, thus 'shifted topic' in her term. Choi (1997: 550) equates a shifted topic to a contrastive topic, arguing that "it can bring a new topic to the discourse or reactivate an old topic."

topics generally precede unmarked ones (Myhill, 1992: 27).

In spite of his contribution to the better understanding of various topical forms, Myhill still fails to tackle one simple but basic question: What are the factors that correlate contrast, focus and topic on the one hand and distinguish between them on the other?

3.3.2 Chu's Markedness

3.3.2.1 Marked vs. unmarked

In a series of recent studies, Chu (1995, 1997, 1998, 2000) makes an attempt to account for topic structure in Chinese in terms of 'markedness': marked vs. unmarked. The distinction between marked topics and unmarked topics are made in two perspectives: structural and non-structural. From a structural perspective, marked topics are ones that are morphologically, syntactically, and phonologically prominent, while unmarked topics lack those structural markings. These markings are physical coding devices that signal a topic. Syntactically, marked topics tend to be at a sentence-initial position or in a displaced position. Phonologically, they carry stress or are followed by a pause. Morphologically, they are accompanied by certain markers. According to Chu (1998: 261), after a topic is introduced and goes on without any special morphological or syntactic marking, the continuing topic is usually an unmarked one. The following examples illustrate marked and unmarked topic, respectively.

(11) Marked topics: Introduced by Prepositions Like *Zhiyu* 'as to,' *Duiyu* 'with regard to,' etc.

Wo xianzai zhi xiang wancheng xueye. *Zhiyu biye hou gan*
I now only think-of finish study. As-for graduate after do

shenme, wo hai mei kaolu.
what I yet not consider

'Now I am only thinking of finishing my study. As to what I will do after graduation, I have no plan yet.' (Chu, 1998: 268)

(12) Unmarked topics

a) Luoyang you *ge ming genu*,
Luoyang had M famous song-girl

b) *0* jiao Yang Zhuluo,
called Yang Zhuluo

c) *0* conghui guo ren,
intelligent surpass people

d) *0* yi yuyan jianqiao guan yu yishi.
with language sharp-skillful top at the-time

'In Luoyang, there was a famous female singer by the name of Yang Zhuluo. She was extremely intelligent and was tops for her quick wit.'
(Chu, 1998: 261)

The example in (11) illustrates the marked topic *biye hou gan shenme* 'what to do after graduation' introduced by the morphological marker *zhiyu*. In (12), two nominals (*Luoyang* and *ge ming genu*) are introduced in (a). But only the latter is picked up by zero anaphora (indicated by *0*) and becomes the topic in (b). Topic continuation is signaled by zero anaphora in the following clauses in (c) and (d). Here, the unmarked topics are indicated by *0*'s and serve the most fundamental function of such topics – i.e., clause linking, which will be discussed later in this study.

From a non-structural perspective, 'marked' and 'unmarked' form a continuum, which is correlated with the amount of information each topic carries in a sentence. Marked topics are higher in informative value than unmarked ones (cf. Section 3.3.2.2).

3.3.2.2 Aboutness vs. clause-linking

Another way to distinguish between marked and unmarked topics is to look at the functions that they perform. The two functions are aboutness and clause-linking. According to Chu (1997), all topics perform the 'aboutness' function, ranging from the most heavily marked to the completely unmarked.[10] He adopts Lambrecht's idea on aboutness relation stated in the following way.

> A referent is interpreted as the topic of a proposition if IN A GIVEN DISCOURSE the proposition is construed as being ABOUT this referent, i.e., as expressing information which is RELEVANT TO and which increases the addressee's KNOWLEDGE OF its referent. (Lambrecht, 1994: 127, original emphasis)

This can be observed in the following examples, discussed by Chu.

(13)

a. Zheke shu, yezi hen da
this-M tree, leave very big
'This tree, (its) leaves are very big.'

b. Neitiao yu, mao chi le
that - M fish cat eat LE
'That fish, the cat ate it.'

c. Duiyu Bosiwan zhanzheng, women dou hen guanxin.
as-for Persian – Gulf War, we all very concerned
'With regard to the Gulf War, we are all very concerned.'

[10] In fact, the term aboutness is one of the concepts widely used in topic related studies (Hockett, 1957; Chafe, 1976; Reinhart, 1982; Lambrecht, 1994; Chu, 1998).

(14) Ta zuo xiti, *0* jingshen bu jizhong
he do homework, spirit not concentrate
'When he does homework, he is not attentive.'
(Chu, 1997: 39)

The sentences in (13) all have a marked topic structure which consists of a topic and its comment as a proposition. There is an obvious relation between the topics and their associated propositions. For instance, in the case of (13a), the proposition 'leaves are big' indicates relevant information and adds to the addressee's knowledge about the referent 'this tree.'

Meanwhile, the same holds true for (14), which exemplifies unmarked topics expressed by a pronoun and a zero anaphor. Like the marked topic, an 'aboutness' relation is clear between the topics (*ta* 'he' and *0*) and their respective comments. That is, 'not attentive' is the information which increases the hearer's knowledge about the zero referent *0*, which corefers with *ta* 'he.' But this relation is not the main function of the unmarked topic.

The other major function, 'clause linking,' is closely correlated to the unmarked topic. This is because the anaphoric function of the unmarked topic to co-refer with another referring expression in a preceding clause/sentence establishes a link between those clauses/sentences. In a gradient fashion, as indicated in Table 1 of Section 3.2.2, the less marked a topic, the stronger clause linking function it performs. The following is an example of the clause-linking performed by the unmarked topics in what is known as a topic chain.

(15)
a. Zuotian yige pengyou jiegei wo *yiben* *shu*,
yesterday a-M friend loan-to me a-M book

b. wo yiwei *0* hen haokan,
I thought very interesting

c. jieguo *0* yidian yisi ye meiyou
result a-little meaning also not-have

d. suoyi, *0* wo kanle jiye,
therefore, I read-PFV a-few-pages

e. *0* jiu bu kan le.
Then not read LE

'A friend loaned me a book yesterday, I thought (it) would be interesting, (but it) turned out to be boring. So, I read a few pages and stopped reading (it).' (Chu, 1998: 263)

Among all the nominal expressions as eligible topic candidates (e.g., *zuotian* 'yesterday,' *pengyou* 'friend,' *wo* 'I,' and *yiben shu* 'a book'), *yiben shu* 'a book' is selected as the topic. It is established as an unmarked topic by the following three-stage process: introduction in (a), pick-up by *0* in (b) and continuation by *0*'s in (c), (d) and (e). The zeros are represented by *it* in parentheses in the English translation. In this regard, the clauses in (15) are linked by the zero anaphors to form a topic chain coreferring to the entity 'book.'[11]

To sum up, Chu (1997: 45) argues that the distinction of 'marked' vs. 'unmarked' can be justified in terms of their forms and their specific functions. The former serves a function of 'aboutness' relation only. The latter, on the other hand, is used for both functions: 'aboutness' but mainly 'clause-linking' in connected discourse. He summarizes his system by schematizing the notions in the form of a continuum as follows:

[11] In terms of the structural development of discourse, clause-linking might be understood as clause-chaining mechanisms in Myhill and Hibiya's (1988) sense, where it is defined as "the use of non-finite forms not headed by a conjunction with a temporal or circumstantial meaning" (Chu, 1988: 363). The example for this is: *Sitting down, taking out a pencil, he began to write*.

←————————'Aboutness' –Marking————————→

Marked ←————————————————————————→ Unmarked
Focus — Clause-Linking
More grammatically explicit — Less grammatically explicit

Figure 3-6. Topic Continuum: Markedness and Function

As seen in Figure 6, the idea behind the proposal of marked and unmarked topics lies in the fact that topics perform different functions in a discourse with parallel differences in their forms.

3.4 Evidence from Korean: Marked and Unmarked Topics

In Chapter 2, we saw that the Korean topic is realized morphologically by the particle *–nun* and syntactically by sentence initial position. One problem with the particle *–nun* is that it has generally been assigned two meanings: topic and contrastiveness. There has been no effort made so far to unify these seemingly unrelated "meanings" of the particle *–nun*. In other words, no studies have concerned themselves with the question: 'What common ground unites these two meaning to serve in a sentence as well as in a discourse?' We also noticed that there are other morphological topic-coding devices (e.g., delimiters like ZA) in Korean other than the particle *–nun*.[12] One might further wonder 'What is the functional relation (or difference) between topics encoded by the different morphological devices?' These are the issues that the sections below address.

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[12] There are, of course, syntactic devices to signal a topic structure. Left- or right-dislocation is a typical example, but syntactic coding devices are not dealt with in this study.

To facilitate our analysis, we adopt the framework of markedness of topic, drawing mainly on Chu's proposal. The reasons we adopt this model for the present study are: 1) It provides an explanation for the relation between topic and focus in terms of contrast; 2) it is also useful in capturing the close relation between form and function. That is, various topic realizations can be considered a reflection of their different functions.

It will be argued below that a *–nun*-attached NP is a typical marked topic and the zero anaphora is a typical unmarked one. Among the *–nun*-attached NP's, the NP in (non)-initial position with a contrastive meaning is the more highly marked topic. In particular, it will also be claimed that the different realizations of topic are a reflection of the different degrees of the two functions of topic: 'aboutness' and 'linking.' Our whole argument is based on the assumption that topics can be placed on a continuum from fully marked to completely unmarked in form and that the degree of markedness is a reflection of the degree of topicality function. In the remainder of this section, we examine topic realization in Korean in terms of markedness.

3.4.1 Marked Topic

In this section, it is argued that the *–nun*-attached NP is a more marked topic realization than one which is without *–nun*. This does not mean that all *nun*-marked expressions have the same strength of topicality. We argue that regardless of whether

in an initial or a non-initial position, the NP–*nun* with a contrastive meaning is more highly marked than one without a contrast in sentence-initial position.[13]

For this purpose, we first discuss the order of constituents in a sentence (Section 3.4.1.1) and then look at the way the contrastive –*nun* is related to the nature of the marked topic in our proposal (Section 3.4.1.2) followed by the investigation of the purely topical –*nun*.

3.4.1.1 Clause-initial NP –*nun*

Korean is rather free in word order except that the verb is in sentence-final position. Relations among constituents are largely understood contextually or situationally, as in a discourse-oriented language (Sohn, 1994: 7). In spite of this fact, it is generally observed that Korean has a neutral order as in (16a) below, in which no contrast or focus reading is given to any element in a sentence.

(16) a. Temporal > Dynamic locative > Subject > Comitative > Instrument, function > Source, ablative > Static locative, goal, allative, dative (indirect object) > Direct object (Sohn, 1994: 86)

b. onul kil – eyse enni – ka na – eykey ton - ul cwu – ess – ta
today road-at (older)sister-NM me – to money-ACC give-PST-FE
'Today, my older sister gave me money on the street.'

The word order in (16a), exemplified by (16b), seems to be the canonical form in Korean. This order may be scrambled for certain reasons without changing the propositional meaning. For example, the preposing of an element takes place for the purpose of 'focusing' (Sohn, 1994: 209), as in (17) below.

[13] The same view is held by Myhill (1992: 27). "It is my impression that Korean –*nun* has some functional resemblance to what I have called contrastive topicalization in English." In his sense, it is related to the marked topic.

(17) a. kil – eyse onul enni – ka na – eykey ton - ul cwu – ess – ta
road-at today sister-NM me- to money-ACC give-PST-FE
'(It is) on the street (that) my older sister gave me money today.'

b. enni – ka na – eykey onul kil – eyse ton - ul cwu – ess – ta
sister-NM me- to today road-at money-ACC give-PST-FE
'(It is) my older sister (that) gave me money on the street today.'

In the examples in (17), some elements, *kil* 'street' and *enni* 'older sister' are preposed for focusing. According to Sohn, this is because "the speaker considers its referent more important than others or because he thinks it to be the information the hearer is seeking more immediately than others" (p. 209).

Even with the word order in (16a), however, *–nun* may be attached to different constituents in a sentence to carry topical or contrastive meanings in the traditional sense. Take the neutral sentence (16b) for example. We can get five different *–nun*-marked sentences, as in (18).

(18)

a. onul-**nun** kil – eyse enni – ka na – eykey ton - ul cwu – ess – ta
today-TP road-at sister-NM me – to money-ACC give-PST-FE
'Today, my older sister gave me money on the street.'

b. onul kil – eyse **-nun** enni – ka na – eykey ton - ul cwu – ess – ta
today road-at –TP sister-NM me – to money-ACC give-PST-FE
'Today, my older sister gave me money on the street.'

c. onul kil – eyse enni **-nun** na – eykey ton - ul cwu – ess – ta
today road-at sister-TP me – to money-ACC give-PST-FE
'Today, my older sister gave me money on the street.'

d. onul kil – eyse enni – ka na **-nun** ton - ul cwu – ess – ta
today road-at sister - NM me –TP money-ACC give-PST-FE
'Today, my older sister gave me money on the street.'

e. onul kil – eyse enni – ka na – eykey ton **-nun** cwu – ess – ta
today road-at sister-NM me – to money- TP give-PST-FE
'Today, my older sister gave me money on the street.'

As seen in Chapter 2, the main interest of previous studies lies in the semantic nature of the particle *–nun* in terms of syntactic distributions. From this point of view, it is understood as having two different functions: projecting the topic sentence-initially and the contrastive focus non-initially. Examples (18a) and (18b-e) are such cases, respectively. In this regard, *–nun* has been regarded as a homonym for two different functions (Bak, 1981). If there is any difference between the examples in (18b) to (18e), it has been ignored in the analysis of topic in Korean.

There is another view proposed by Choi (1997), also reviewed in Chapter 2. According to her, the basic meaning of *–nun* is by default contrastiveness, implicitly or explicitly, wherever it occurs. It carries a strong contrast (i.e., focus interpretation) non-initially, and it becomes weaker when it moves leftward. On the other hand, she argues that topic realization is a matter of syntactic scrambling based on the assumption that a sentence-initial position is by default the topic position. This means that when an NP-*nun* appears at the sentence-initial position, it automatically gets a topical interpretation. That is, as it moves leftward, the contrastiveness gets weaker and finally it gets the status of topical with a weak contrast (which she calls contrastive topic). Let's look at (19).

(19) a. Mary – ka ecey John - un manna – ss - ta.
NM yesterday TP meet – PST – FE
'Mary met John yesterday (but nobody else).'

b. Mary – ka John - un ecey manna – ss - ta.
NM TP yesterday meet – PST – FE
'Mary met John yesterday (and Bill today).'

c. John - un Mary – ka ecey manna – ss - ta.
TP NM yesterday meet – PST – FE
'As for John, Mary met him yesterday (and as for Bill, Jane met him today) (Choi, 1997: 549)

According to Choi (1997: 550), *John* in (19a, b, and c) is basically contrastive. But the role of the contrast is different in each. *John* in (19a) is interpreted as a contrastive focus, while (19c), scrambled from its base form (19a), results in a contrastive topic which has an 'aboutness' relation. Finally, (19b), interestingly enough, has "an intermediate status as a topic." On the basis of these assumptions, she concludes that "topichood is in a continuum with an increasing degree from the base position to the sentence-initial position." At first glance, this view seems to be an improvement, at least theoretically, since it considers topichood the result of syntactic operation. However, the assumption underlying this hypothesis is much the same as previous approaches: (contrastive) topic is clearly distinct from the concept of (contrastive) focus. If so, there is no explanation of how they can occur on the same nominal.

If discourse is considered, however, the problem becomes more complicated than Choi sees it. Let's take the following example (20), which is from a natural discourse.

(20) A: Hankwuk – ey Hallasan – ey – nun sepen ka-ss – neyo
Korea - LOC Mt. Halla-LOC-TP three times go-PST-IE
'In Korea, (I) climbed Mt. Halla three times'

pom – i – myen chelccwukkkoch – i coh - kwuyo
spring –be- if azalea blossom – NM good- IE
'In spring, (Mt. Halla's) the azalea is so wonderful.'

kaul - un tanphwung – to mess – iss - cyo
fall – TP maple – DLM good-looking-exist – IE
'In autumn, the changing colors (in Mt. Halla) look good, as well.'

In this example, the referent *Hallasan* 'Mt. Halla' appears non-initially. According to Choi's explanation, this must carry a contrastive focus only, because of its distributional position. Contrary to her expectation, *Hallasan* 'Mt. Halla' is non-contrastive, since it

has nothing to contrast with in the context: It also serves the function of topic in that potion of discourse. It is Mt. Halla about which the whole discourse provides relevant information as well as adds to the addressee's knowledge.

Another example shows that the contrastiveness of a *–nun*-attached NP does not depend on the non-initial position. Even when the *–nun*-attached NP occurs at an initial position, it is able to perform the dual function of a contrastive focus and a topic in Choi's sense.

(21) A: eymti kalye – myen cwunpimwul – nun pwuntam – hae- yacyo.
picnic be going – if picnic stuff – TP separate – do – IE
nae – ka ssal – ul kacko ol – kkeyyo
I – NM rice-ACC bring:and come-will:IE
'To go to picnic, (we) separate picnic stuff. I will bring rice.' – i.e. For the picnic, we each prepare some food. I will bring RICE.

B: ccikaekeli – nun nae – ka cwunpi – ha – keyss – ta
stew makings– TP I – NM prepare – do-AUX-FE
'As for stew makings (but not any other), I will prepare for it.' – i.e. I'll make some STEW.

C: mithpanchan – nun nae – ka cwunpi – hae – kal – kkey
side dish - TP I – NM prepare – do – go:will-IE
'As for side dish (but not any other) I will take care of it.' – i.e. I'll take care of the SIDE DISH.

(*Paewese*… 1996: 140)

In the mini-discourse, the participants (A, B, and C) are going on a picnic. They are talking about their plans for the picnic. They want to decide 'who' takes care of 'what.' First of all, A suggests that she will take care of *ssal* 'rice.' Then, B and C talk about what they want to bring for the picnic: *ccikaekeli* 'stew makings" and *mithpanch* 'side dish,' respectively. Obviously, the latter two are in contrast with *ssal* 'rice.' They, however, occur with *–nun* and at the utterance-initial position. It is hard to argue that they primarily serve as topics and only marginally as contrast. The argument is further

strengthened by syntactic parallelism, i.e., the sentences by B and C have the same constituents except for two entities which show a stark contrast between them.[14] It can easily be concluded that the contrastive reading is possibly attributable to all three: the use of *–nun*, the sentence-initial position, and syntactic parallelism. In other words, we could at least claim that a sentence-initial *–nun*-attached NP may be just as capable of carrying contrast as one in any other position.

Unlike previous studies based on structural observations, the examples in (20) and (21) show that contrastiveness is not just a matter of structural distribution (i.e., scrambling in Choi). It has to come from the preceding context. In addition, they clearly show that topic and focus are not always mutually exclusive. They may sometimes overlap when they share a feature of contrast. In other words, a contrastive focus and a marked topic can be realized on the same NP. They can do so just because both are expressed by linguistic devices to attract the addressee's attention. On the other hand, we claim that contrast must come from the preceding context, but a marked topic is anticipatory of a following portion of the text which is ABOUT that topic. The contrast, therefore, is not on the topic per se. As a result, the term contrastive topic is at best misleading, if not a downright misnomer, though at present we do not have a better term for it.

As we implied above, many clause-initial marked topics do not carry a contrast. Their informative value is thus even lower than that of non-topics in the same position. For example,

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[14] The verbal endings should not be considered, since they have nothing to do with the propositional meaning. They generally signal the social factors or the interactional relations between participants.

(22) a. apeci – ka sae os – ul sa – ss – ta
father-NM new clothes- ACC buy-PST-FE
'(MY) father bought new clothes.'

b. apeci – nun sae os – ul sa – ss – ta
father-TP new clothes- ACC buy-PST-FE
'(MY) father bought new clothes.'

c. apeci – ka sae os – ul sa – ss – ta
father- NM new clothes- ACC buy-PST-FE
'(MY) father bought new clothes.'

All the sentences in (22) have the same semantic meaning but have different particles attached to the same initial NP *apeci* 'father.' Traditionally, the *apeci* 'father' in (22a) is interpreted as having a focus reading due to *–ka*, while the *apeci* 'father' in (22b) has a topic reading due to *–nun*. The distinction can be made more obvious by looking at what contexts they may occur in appropriately. The questions (a), (b) and (c) below in (23) take the sentences (a), (b) and (c) in (22), respectively, as appropriate answers.

(23) a. nwuka sae os – ul sa - ss - ni
who new clothes-ACC buy-PST-Q
'Who bought the new clothes?'

b. apeci – nun mwues – ul sa – ss – ni
father-TP what – ACC buy-PST-Q
'What did father buy?'

c. mwusun - il i – nya
what – thing happen-Q
'What happened?'

The purpose of the question in (23a) is to find out the identity of someone who bought new clothes. In the answer, *apeci* 'father' marked by *–ka* serves the purpose. In Lambrecht's (1994: 207) term, it is a 'focus expression.' It is high in informative value. The point of the next question in (23b) is to find more about 'father,' which is marked by *–nun* in the question as well as in the answer. The particle *–nun*, thus, indicates that

the NP does not add information to what is already known. It marks low informative value. Finally, (22c) is what Lambrecht calls an 'event-reporting' sentence in which the focus covers the entire proposition. As such, all constituents of the sentence are high in informative value.

This example clearly shows that information status (given vs. new) does not account for the use of the particles in Korean. It is rather the management of information that does. With little or no contrastive meaning at an initial position, the default interpretation of a *–nun*-attached entity is that it has a low informative value – i.e., a topic.[15]

3.4.1.2 Delimiters as topic markers

In Section 2.2.3.1, we briefly talked about delimiters. The postpositional particles such as *–to* 'also, too, even' *–man* 'only,' *–kkaci* 'even, including' etc. belong to these categories. They are defined as follows:

> "The term delimiter is a semantic one which implies that the meaning of the element to which a delimiter is attached is 'delimited and/or specified."
> (Yang, 1972: 59)

In a topic-related study, Bak (1981) argues that delimiter-attached NP's can become topic for both syntactic and semantic reasons. Syntactically, they are located at a higher NP position for topic; semantically, they entail presuppositional meanings. In addition,

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[15] On the other hand, the default expectation for *–ka* would be that it gets a high informative value. Choi (1997: 555) argues that a scrambled *-ka*-phrase in an existential construction can also get a topic reading as well as a focus reading. This also shows the nature of *–ka* as a high informative marker. For example,

chayk – i chayksang – wuyey nohie iss – ta
book-NM desk – on lie be-FE
'The book(s) is/are lying on the desk.'
'It is (a) book(s) that is/are on the desk.'

definite NP-delimiters carry focal information, which is also taken as the topic – i.e., 'focus-topic.'[16]

Granted that delimiters are used to indicate topical entities or events, our present concern is in the ways delimiter-attached topics (hereafter, D-topics) differ from topics attached with the particle *–nun*. This is important because the present study is concerned with topic realization in terms of markedness. Interestingly, we have already witnessed that *–nun* attached to NPs may be different in informativeness. The more highly marked *–nun* NPs tend to take on a contrastive meaning. Thus, we suspect that delimiters play different roles in terms of informativeness as well. For this purpose, we will begin by discussing the nature of delimiters in order to identify their informational characteristics. Then, we will proceed to compare D-topics with *–nun* marked topics (hereafter, *–nun*-topics) in terms of markedness and informativeness.

In order to investigate the roles that D-topics play, it is necessary to know under what conditions they occur. First of all, D-topics are discourse-sensitive. Typically, they cannot occur discourse-initially (Yang, 1972: 63-64; Bak, 1981: 257). Consider (24),

(24) Chelswu – to meli – ka aphu – ta
- also head-NM aching-FE
'Chelswu too, he has a headache.'

where *–to* is a delimiter. If example (24) is used at the very beginning of a discourse, it is infelicitous. The reason is in the operational definition of delimiter. According to the definition, the use of delimiters presupposes some shared information on the basis of

[16] He discusses two types of NP-delimiters: definite-delimiter and indefinite-delimiter. Focus-topic interpretation is only available to the former. Not much discussion is given for the latter.

which the appearance of delimiters can be justified. Yang (1972: 64) accounts for the restricted occurrence of *–to* 'also' in terms of 'predictability' in the following.

> Predictability of the delimiter *–to* 'also'
> In a strict discourse context, if two successive sentences differ only in one delimiter-attachable element, the non-identical element in the second sentence must have the delimiter *–to* 'also.'

In this regard, look at the following example in (25). Sentence (24), repeated as (25B), can be used as a response to A's utterance.

(25) A: John – nun meli – ka aphu – ta
TP head-NM aching-FE
'John has a headache.

B: Chelswu – to meli – ka aphu – ta
- also head-NM aching-FE
'Chelswu too, he has a headache.

The above observation clearly shows that D-topics occur when shared information is provided in prior discourse. In this sense, Bak (1981: 252) argues that "as presupposition-bearing elements, delimiters can be used felicitously if and only if a certain specific presupposition compatible with their semantic content holds in the communicative situation."

There is one more thing we should mention in relation to the interpretation of delimiters. D-topics are called 'focus-topics' (Bak 1981: 256). That is, the focal information signaled by a delimiter is used to indicate a topic. The reasoning goes like this: the appearance of delimiters presupposes some shared information while the delimiters themselves are attached to non-presupposed information only in order to add information to what is shared – i.e., to provide focal information. It is illustrated in (26).

(26) A: Chelswu – nun meli – ka aphu - ta.
- TP head – NM aching - FE
'Chelswu has a headache.'

B: (a) kulay? *Yenghi – to* meli – ka aphu - ntey.
Really - also head-NM aching-IE
'Really? Yenghi too, she has a headache.'

(b) anya. *Yenghi – man* meli – ka aph - a.
No only head-NM aching - FE
'No. Only Yenghi has a headache.'

(Bak, 1981: 257)

At the time when the delimiter *–to* appears in (26 B(a)), the conversationalists have already established the shared information that 'Chelswu' *has a headache*. The delimiter *–to* serves to signal that 'Yenghi' is added to the shared information as one who has a headache as well as 'Chelswu' does. The same shared information is available to the conversationalists when *–man* occurs in (26. B(b)), but the added information that *–man* signals is different: It is 'Yenghi,' not 'Chelswu' that is involved in the scenario. In other words, *–man* marks a replacement while *–to* marks an addition. Both of them, however, are also subject to topical interpretation in the sense that the rest of the sentence is 'about' the referent that the delimiter-attached NP refers to. Thus, the term D-topic.[17]

Before we move on to the next section, it is in order for us to summarize D-topic and *–nun*-topic as marked topics. Based on our discussion so far, the former can be schematized as the following: D-topic + X, where X is part of shared knowledge. This schema provides us with a felicitous account of why D-topic is characterized by carrying 'focus' (i.e., topic-focus). Meanwhile, the other type of topic can be

[17] This differs from Bak's claim that D-topics have no 'aboutness' function. Instead, D-topics are determined by Bak as syntactically located at 'higher NP position' (cf. see Section 2.2.3.1).

represented in the following: *–nun*-topic + Y, where Y must not be shared knowledge. It tells us that Y corresponds to new information, which is in general related to 'focus.' In this case, *–nun*-marked topic sometimes carries contrastive focus. What is common in both cases is that they are used to signal a marked topic.

3.4.2 Unmarked Topic

In Section 3.4.1.2, it is shown that the marked topic is heavily coded and, more importantly, high in information value. The discussion assumed the existence of its opposite – i.e., the unmarked topic. Chu (1998: 261) gives an operational definition: "When a topic is introduced and goes on without any special morphological or syntactic marking," it is called unmarked topic, as in (27).

(27) a. Luoyang you *ge ming genu*,
Luoyang had M famous song-girl

b. *0* jiao Yang Zhuluho,
called Yang Zhuluho

c. *0* conghui guo ren,
intelligent surpass people

d. *0* yi yuyan jianqiao guan yu yishi
with language sharp-skillful top at the-time

'In Luoyang, there was a famous female singer by the name of Yang Zhuluo. She was extremely intelligent and was tops for her quick wit.'
(Chu, 1998: 261)

The nominal expression *ge ming genu* 'a famous female singer' is introduced at the beginning of discourse. In the process, it is picked up in the continuing discourse by a zero anaphor (or ZA) to represent the topic. In its simplest sense, ZA symbolized by *0* stands for the most unmarked topic. A little more heavily marked is the unstressed pronoun. It might be said that, by and large, the ideal form of unmarked topic is

equated with the most accessible/predictable topical entities (ZA/pronoun) provided in Table 1 in Section 3.2.1.1 above.

While marked topics are characterized as being highly informative because of their contribution to the addressee's knowledge, unmarked topics do not contribute much to it. One would naturally ask, "If so, what are the functions of unmarked topics?" The answer is, they mainly serve a linking function between clauses, producing topic chains.

3.4.2.1 Topic Chain

To see how unmarked topics work in Korean, we select the least marked form, zero anaphor, or ZA, for our study. We first illustrate the function of ZA in topic chains in Mandarin Chinese.

In Chinese, the topic chain is an important structural unit above the clause, since the sentence is not easily identifiable in that language. As a discourse unit, the topic chain is defined as " a set of clauses linked by a topic in the form of ZA" (Chu 1998: 338). This notion, however, is not static, but dynamic, as the topic chain is a result of an on-going process through the following topic-formation stages: 'introduction, pick-up and continuation' (Chu, 1998: 329).[18] Let's look at example (28) below:

(28) a. Zhejian yishang zangle *yikuai*$_i$
this-M clothes dirty-PFV a-spot

b. 0_i xile bantian mei xidiao.
wash-PFV a-long-time didn't wash-off

[18] However, this does not mean that the establishment of a topic always goes through all three steps. During the process, some stage(s) might be missing, depending on the knowledge shared by the participants.

'(a) This dress had a dirty spot on it. (b) [I] washed it for a long time and didn't get it off.' (Chu, 1998: 329)

The mini-discourse in (28) clearly shows the introduction and pick-up processes. *Yikuai* 'a spot' introduced as a referent in (28a), becomes a topic through the pick-up process in the next clause. It is picked up by 0_i in clause (b), though translated as *it* in the English version. Clauses (a) and (b) in (28) form a topic chain. The link between the members of the chain is the ZA in clause (b). The same processes are applicable to a rather more complex example which consists of two topic chains, as in (29).

(29) a. *Lisi zhege jiahuo*$_i$,
Lisi this-M dude

b. wo$_j$ yinwei jiu *ta*$_i$
I because save him

c. 0_j shoule shang,
receive-PFV wound

d. 0_i juran bulai kan *wo*$_j$
even not-come see me

e. 0_i paodao Niuyue dujia qu le
run-to New-York have-vacation go LE

'(a) Lisi that dude, (c) I was wounded (b) for saving him, (d) doesn't even come to see me (e) [and] went to New York for vacation.'
(Chu, 1998: 330)

Example (29) consists of two topic chains: (a), (d)-(e) and (b)-(c). The first chain is about *Lisi zhege jiahuo* 'Lisi that dude' and the second about *wo* 'I.' To form a topic chain, the pick-up process generally takes places just after the introduction. In this case, however, 'Lisi that dude' in (a) is not picked up until clause (d) where a 0_i is used to refer to it. At the same time, another referent appears in clause (b): *wo* 'I,' which is picked up in clause (c) as topic. What is more interesting is that there is some relation

between the two topic chains. The topic chain formed by (b)-(c) is a 'sub-chain' within the 'main-chain' formed by (a), (d)-(e). The significance of this relation lies in the fact that it shows a clear similarity to a syntactic structure: embedding. Here, the sub-chain is "embedded" in the main chain with *Lizi zhege jiahuo* as its head. This fact leads Chu to believe that "the topic chain in Chinese is where syntax and discourse meet" (1998: 337). Syntactically, a topic chain may function as an NP, a relative clause, etc. In term of discourse, it is a structural unit above clause, much like a sentence in Western languages (op. cit. 337).

Much the same holds true in Korean with the dynamic process of forming a topic chain and the role of ZA. Observe the following:

(30) a. Yewu - nun mwul – ul masilyeko
fox - TP water-ACC drink: PURP

b. *0* mom – ul canttuk kuwpwulye–ss–supnita.
body –ACC to the fullest bend – PST- FE

c. kulentey kuman *0* pal – i mikkulecye
DM by mistake foot-NM slide: CONN

d. *0* wumwul sok – ey ppaciko mal - ass – supnita.
well inside-LOC fall into AUX-PST – FE

e. *0* ppacyenakalyeko ae – lul sse - ss - ciman wumwul – i
try to get outside: PURP effort-ACC exert-PST-but well – NM
nemwu kiphese
too deep: because

f. *0* tocehi nakal swu – ka eps – ess – supnita.
(not) at all go out way-NM not-PST-FE

'(a) To drink water, a fox (b) bent his body to the fullest. (c) Then, by bad luck, (his) feet slipped, (d) (he) fell into the well. (e) Even though (he) tried hard , the well was too deep (for him).' (f) (he) did not get out. (*Isopwuhwa* 1996)

In the short story in (33), the referent *yewu* 'fox' is introduced in (33a). This referent is established as the topic when it is picked up by *0* in (33b). It continues as such in the discourse by the help of a ZA in each of the following clauses. Thus, the clauses (a) – (f) in (30) form a topic chain much the same as those in (28). The ZAs serve the function of linking the clauses into a larger unit by referring to the same participant.

Unlike (30), which has one simple topic in a chain, (31) shows some structural characteristics of a text with more than one topic chain. The conversation between two UF graduate students is rather complex in nature. One of them talks about his field trip to Africa during summer, showing pictures taken in his fieldwork.

(31) a. ku kos$_i$ – un kwukkyengciyek iketunyo
that place-TP borderline be:IE

b. 0_i nanminchon – intey
refugee camp – NFM

c. 0_i Wuganda wa Swudan saiey isseyo
Uganda and Sudan between be:IE

d. imi 0_i yueyn kathunteyse salam - tul - i manhi wass – ki
already UN like:that people-PL – NM many come-NOM
ttamwuney
because

e. mwe kulekey 0_i cengchak ha – ki - nun himtul – ci anhcyo
DM that much settle-down do-NOM-COMP difficult-COMP not:IE

f. 0_i salam – tul$_j$ – un saengkak pota cengmal swunpak haeyo
people – PL-TP think than really simple-mind do:IE

g. 0_i 0_j akuy – to epsko, wuli nala yuksipnyentae
malice-even not :and our country 60's

(Looking at and accounting for the picture his friend is on)
h. ah, kuke cacenke$_k$ cem icyo
ah, that:thing bike store be:IE

i. 0_k ppangkwu – ka namyen
flat tire – NM blow out: if

j. yekise 0_k kochyeyacyo
here fix:IE

k. 0_i yekichelem cha–to epsko, cacenke–ka cwuyo kyottong
like:here car – even not:and bike – NM main transportation
swutan iketunyo
means be:IE

'(a) The place [I went for the field trip] is on the border. (b) (It) is a refugee camp. (c) (It) is located between Uganda and Sudan. (d) Since there are already many people from UN or something like that, (e) it was not that hard for me to settle down (there). (f) People are really nicer than (I) thought, (g) bearing no malice, similar to the 60's in our country. (h) Ah, that is a bike repair shop. (i) (When) a tire blows out, (j) (it) can be repaired here. (k) It is not easy to find cars there and bikes are the main means of transportation.'

In the above discourse in (31), there are three topic chains. The primary topic of this narrative discourse is about *ku kos* 'the place (where the speaker went for fieldwork)' represented by 0_i's in (b) through (g) and in (k). In addition, there are two other topics *salamtul* 'people,' represented by 0_j in (g) and *cacenke* 'bike' represented by 0_k in (i) through (k). Each of the topic chains is formed through the typical process: introduction by a full NP and picked up and maintained by ZA. What is interesting for our purpose is that the relation between topic chains in (31) can likewise be characterized in terms of 'embedding' in Chu's sense. This means that topic two and topic three – i.e., *salamtul* 'people' and *cacenke* 'bike' – indicate changes of topic within topic one – i.e., *ke kos* 'the place.' In other words, topic one spans from (a) to (k) as a whole within which two sub-topics arch over (f)-(g) and (h)-(k). This embedding relationship can be represented diagrammatically below:

(32) Topic 1: 'the place' —— (a) ku kos_i
(b) 0_i
(c) 0_i
(d) 0_i
(e) 0_i
Topic 1& 2: ' people' — (f) 0_i $salamtul_j$
(g) 0_i 0_j

Topic 3: 'bike' — (h) $cacenke_k$
(i) 0_k
(j) 0_k
Topic 1&3 : ———— (k) 0_i …… $cacenke_k$

As seen in the case of Chinese in (29), the significance of this example lies in the fact that it clearly shows some parallelism between syntactic and discourse structure.

Let's look at another Korean example in (33).

(33) a. $senpaenim_i$ – ka keyseyss – nuntey,
senior - NM exist:HON:PST – NFM

b. 0_i nonmwun – ul ssusil – ttae
dissertation-ACC write:HON:MOD-when

c. 0_i achim $sikan_j$ – nun piwetwusi – tulakwuyo.
morning time – TP leave open – AUX:IE

d. 0_j 0_i wuntong – to ha – ko
exercise- DLM do – CONN

e. 0_j 0_i polil – to po – ko
business- DLM see-CONN

f. 0_i 0_j kulehkey ha – tulakwuyo.
like that do – AUX:IE

g. 0_i cengmal yeyu – ka iss – tulakwuyo.
really time to relax-NM exist- AUX:IE

h. 0_i cemsim – ul mek – ko
lunch - ACC eat – CONN

i. 0_i nommwun – ul sicak ha – nuntey
dissertation – ACC begin do – NFM

> '(a) (There is) a senior$_i$, (b) when (0_i) writes his dissertation (c) (0_i) leaves the morning open. (d) In the morning$_j$, (0_i) does some exercise (0_j), (e) (0_i) takes care of some things to do (0_j), (f) (0_i) does some things like that (0_j). (g) (0_i) seems to enjoy his time. (h) After (0_i) has lunch, (i) (0_i) begins to write the dissertation.

The clauses in the main topic chain are linked by 0_i's and the clauses in the sub-chain are linked by 0_j's. The structural relation between the sub-topic chain and the main chain can be represented schematically as in (34).

(34) a) senpaenim$_i$
b) 0_i…
c) 0_i…… achim sikan – nun$_j$
d) 0_j 0_i
e) 0_j 0_i
f) 0_j 0_i
g) 0_i… h) 0_i… i) 0_i…

The schema in (34) clearly shows that there are two different topic chains in the same discourse block. One is made up of the clauses in (a) through (i) which form the main topic chain. The clauses are linked by the 0_i's. The other is made up of the clauses in (c) through (f) which form the sub-topic chain. These clauses are linked by the 0_j's.

Topic chains may combine to form more complex constructions. Besides embedding, Chu (1998) also mentions the Telescopic Chain, as illustrated in the following.

(35) a. Duanmu Fu$_i$ youbudei qingsheng yi tan,
Duanmu Fu involuntarily low-voice a sigh

b. 0_i jiakuaile jiaobu;
quicken-PFV pace

c. 0_i hu jue
suddenly feel

d. chuan lai *yizhen xixiniaoniaode yuesheng*$_j$,
send come a-M thin-slender-DE music-sound

e. 0_j yi zhuan san zhe,
one turn three fold

f. 0_j xingban ru yun,…
rhythm like cloud

'(a) Duanmu Fu couldn't help but give out a silent sigh, (b) quickened her paces, (c) [and] suddenly heard (d) some light music floating over, (e) [which] came in high notes and low notes, (f) in a rhythm like flowing clouds …' (Chu, 1998: 332-333)

In (35) above, two topic chains merge into each other at the end of one, (a) – (d), and the beginning of the other, (d) – (f). The main chain constitutes one sub-chain headed by the topic 'Duanmu Fu' (a personal name), and another sub-chain headed by the other topic *yizheng xixiniaoniaode yuesheng* 'a light sound of music.' The two topic chains are linked to each other in a way that the end of the first chain is merged into the beginning of the second one in (c) – (d). Notice that (d) is a complement of (c). Chu (1998: 333) terms this a 'telescopic topic chain' whose structural significance lies in the integration of the two chains into one inseparable piece of discourse.

The notion of telescopic chain seems to apply to Korean as well. The passage in (36) below is a good example.

(36) a. Chali$_i$ - nun inkun kotunghakkyo – uy miswul kyosa ita
Charlie-TP nearby high school – of art teacher be:FE

b. ku$_i$ - nun yele hae tongan ku hakkyo- ey caecikhae – ss – ko
he – TP several year during that school –at work:do – PST-and

c. 0$_i$ tonglyo kyosat – tul – lopwuthe inki – ka nopha
fellow teacher-PL- from popularity-NM high:and

d. 0$_i$ cilthwu – lul sal cengto ye – ss – ta
jealousy-ACC receive degree be-PST-FE

e. ku nal ku$_i$ - nun yeyko epsi ceney kaluchye – ss – ten
that day he – TP notice without before teach – PST – MOD

f. *han ye ceyca*$_j$ – uy pangmwu – ul 0_i pat – ass – ta
one female former student – of visit – ACC receive-PST-FE

g. colephan ci sa, o nyen-i cinan cikum ku yehaksaeng$_j$ – un
graduation BND.N 4, 5 year-NM after now that female student-TP

h. kyelhon panici – lul kkin kacengcwupwu – ka toye
marriage ring – ACC wear house wife - NM become

i. 0_j kasnan aki – lul anko …
new-born baby-ACC hug:and

'(a) Charlie is an art teacher at a nearby high school. (b) He has worked for several years at that school and (c) (he) is popular among fellow teachers. (d) (So, he) is almost a target of jealousy. (e-f) One day, (he) got a visit from one former female student who he taught previously without any prior notice. (g) The female student, 4 or 5 years after the graduation, (h) became a housewife with a marriage ring. (i) (She) had a newborn baby in her arm…' (*Maumul* … 1995: 67)

In this example, two topic chains merge in one clause in (f). In other words, line (f) provides the ending point of the first chain, (a) – (f) headed by 'Charlie,' and the starting point of the following one, (f) – (i) headed by *han ye ceyca* 'a former female student.' What is interesting to us is that this is also a clear example showing topic-establishment: introduction by a heavily marked form and maintenance by ZAs. The most important discourse role of ZAs as the least marked form of topic, we might say, is to link clauses into a topic chain as an integral whole.

In our examination of the topic chain, what is most striking does not lie in the detailed classification. It is rather the role of topic within the whole chain system. As obvious in its definition, the topic chain rests on the linking relation by a given topic between clauses on the one hand, and between paragraphs and beyond, on the other. This means that, for instance, the topic of a clause may serve to link that clause to

another that precedes it. And all this is achieved by the use of lightly marked topic expressions, especially the completely unmarked ZA. In the light of this discussion ZA should not be considered to play just a passive role of just serving as a trace of deleted topic phrases, but rather to play the active role of achieving topic linking continuity. The same principle works in Korean as in Chinese.

To sum up, the preceding analysis concerns the empirical aspects of the topic chain and the functional aspect of ZA in it. ZA used to be regarded as ellipsis to avoid repetition. But, as an unmarked topic, it mainly serves a linking function to make the chain cohesive.

3.5. Summary

This chapter presents as its main focus an analysis of the topic in Korean on the basis of the notion of markedness system proposed by Chu (1998, 2000). We first examined the markedness system, which is characterized by a continuum from marked to unmarked.

Marked topic:

a) High in informative value
b) Possessing the function of aboutness
c) Linguistically prominent (syntactically in sentence-initial position, phonologically stressed, morphologically marked with specific devices)

Unmarked topic:

a) Low in informative value
b) Possessing the function of linking plus aboutness
c) Lack of linguistic prominence

What is striking is that marked topics often carry some features of contrastive focus. Since topic generally identifies some old or given information and focus provides

information that is somehow new, they are in some sevse opposing notions. Only with this perspective can we provide a reasonable account for how and why topic and focus may sometimes occur simultaneously on a given NP, even though they are otherwise opposite notions.

Adopting the system of markedness, we also try to provide a better explanation of Korean topic. In previous studies, the typical topic marker *–nun* has been treated in terms of a two-way distinction depending on its distribution: as a topic marker sentence-initially but as a focus otherwise. In view of recent studies, however, this simple binary distinction does not hold. It is often the case that a sentence-initial *–nun* topic may carry a contrastive meaning, which is a particular instance of focus. This fact is also problematical in light of the opposing nature of topic and focus. On the other hand, if the *–nun* topic is treated as a marked topic, then it can carry a focus regardless of its position in a sentence. It turns out to be true that though the *–nun* NP is more likely to carry focus in a non-initial position than in the initial position, a initial *–nun* phrase can carry contrastive focus.

Within the framework of markedness, we also provide a explanation of delimiters. In our treatment, they are a specific type of marked topic. Like the initial *–nun* topic, they can carry contrastive focus. Unlike the initial –nun topic, the contrastive focus they carry is limited to addition or replacement, among others. In this sense, the term delimiter is a reasonable label.

Finally, we look at the unmarked topic, specifically examining the functional roles of ZA. The main functional role of ZA in topic is to link clauses into a larger unit

called topic chain. In other words, as an unmarked topic, ZA serves a linking function to make the discourse cohesive beyond the syntactic unit of clause.

CHAPTER FOUR
THE SYNTAX AND PRAGMATICS OF DISCOURSE MARKER: -*NUNTEY*

4.1 Introduction

In Chapter3, we discuss the topic in Korean in terms of markedness, concentrating on the realization of topic in the form of a specific referent and its function (e.g., *–nun*-marked constituent vs. ZA). Since topic is a discourse notion, we now discuss it in the context of discourse organization. It is well accepted that the appropriate use of discourse markers optimizes the condition for topic realization in a discourse (Schiffrin, 1987; Bublitz, 1988; Fraser, 1990; Goutsos, 1997). For example, Schiffrin (1987) presents the discourse marker *then* as marking successive subtopics in discourse. From the same perspective, the present chapter is mainly concerned with the relationship between topic organization and the use of the discourse marker *–nuntey* in Korean.[1]

The present chapter proceeds in the following manner. In Sections 4.2 and 4.3, we review how *–nuntey* has been treated in previous studies carried out from the structural and a discoursal perspective. In Section 4.4, we treat *–nuntey* as a 'non-finality marker' (hereafter, NFM) to provide a unified explanation of its behaviors. In Section 4.5, we examine the role of *–nuntey* as a discourse marker which is expected to

[1] *–Nuntey* has variants such as *–nuntey*, *–intey*, *–tentey*, or *–ulthentey*, depending on the preceding tense-aspect-modality markers (Park, 1999: 192). Phonetic variations are not considered in detail. *–Nuntey* has been glossed as either 'circumstantial' or 'contrast.'

serve in light of topic organizations, i.e., topic-introduction, topic-resumption, topic-continuation and topic-negotiation. Based on these observations, Section 4.6 provides a summary and conclusion for the chapter.

4.2 Structural Considerations

Characterizing the syntactic and semantic distributions of *–nuntey* (with variants *–intey*, *–ntey* and *–tentey*) has been a controversial issue in Korean grammar. It is hard to pin them down into a specific linguistic category. Stated in the most general terms, *–nuntey* can be used as a connective and as an informal sentence-terminal element.

From a dictionary perspective, *–nuntey* is generally glossed as 'and,' 'but,' 'so,' 'or,' 'why,' 'given that,' etc. In a more general sense, the term 'circumstantial' is widely adopted as a gloss because a clause introduced by *–nuntey* is related to the state or situation where the action or event in the main clause occurs. The use of the loose term 'circumstantial' suggests that the nature of *–nuntey* is hard to pin down even in informal contexts.

4.2.1 Intersentential-connective

Intersentential connection is one of the main functions of *–nuntey*. As pointed out in Lee (1980 – cf. Section 4.3.1), earlier studies are based on sentence-oriented analyses. They focus on *–nuntey* between two clauses. Thus, *–nuntey* is characterized as a connective with two uses: adversative and natural (Lee, 1980; 1993). The adversative use is given in (1), where the two propositions contrast.

(1) pi – ka manhi - o - nuntey, non - e mwul - ka koyi - ci
rain-NM much come NMF field – LOC water – NM collect-NOM
anh - nunta
not – FE
'It is raining hard, but the water does not collect in the fields.'
(Lee, 1980: 119)

In fact, there seems to be a general consensus that *–nuntey* is a typical connective for representing an adversative relation.

–Nuntey is also said to have 'natural uses.' But this term is too vague. While the choice of terminology is important, what matters more in the present study is that previous works also acknowledge that *–nuntey* can be used to convey different implications in different situations. Below, we exemplify some of the possible uses of *–nuntey* as a non-adversative connective.

(2) a. Concessive Relation (Although X, -Y)
yelsimhi kongpwu ha – nuntey, sengcek – i cohci - anh – a
hard study do-NMF grade - NM good:COMP-not-IE
'Although (I) study hard, the grade is not good.'

b. Parenthetical Relation (X, -Y-)
sae sensaeng – nim - i wass – nuntey, ilum – i Chelswu – lae
new teacher – HON-NM come:PST-NMF, name-NM - QUOT
'The new teacher – (his) name is Chelswu – came (to our school).'

c. Simultaneity (X at the same time as -Y)
tongsaeng – i chaek – ul po – nuntey, kkilkkil keyless – ta
younger brother-NM book-ACC look at –NMF, chuckle do:PST-FE
'(My) younger brother was reading a book, chuckling.'

d. Adverbial (As far as X is concerned, -Y)
kongpwu ha – nuntey, pam – kwa nac – i ediss - ya
study do – NMF, night-and day – NM where:be:PST-IE
'As far as study is concerned, there is no difference in day and night.'

The list of uses can be expanded indefinitely as contextual situations increase. A simple question arises: Can we ascribe all the different interpretations directly to *–nuntey* as its meanings or functions? To put it in a slightly different way, if *–nuntey* is a pure

connective, how is it possible for it to carry so many different meanings, depending on actual situations? A critical review of this question is presented in Section 4.4 below.

4.2.2 Sentence-terminal Element

The term 'sentence-terminal element' is used for the other function of *–nuntey* (Lee, 1980; Ko, 1989). It is adopted simply because the affix occurs in sentence-final position. H. Kim (1996: 646) points out that one of the prominent structural aspects of *–nuntey* is that it can co-occur relatively freely with tense, aspect, and modality markers. In addition, it occurs with the honorific marker *–si*. Since those are the characteristics of sentence-terminal elements, many grammarians treat *–nuntey* as a sentence-terminal element. Observe the following.

(3) a. apenim – kkeyse pakkey naka – si – ess – nuntey
father:HON outside go out-HON-PST-NFM
'Father has gone outside.'

b. Chelswu – ka hakkyo kan – ta – ko kulae – ss – nuntey- yo
- NM school go –FE-QUOT like:that-PST-NFM-Q
'Chelswu said (he) went to school?

The examples in (3) end with *–nuntey,* so that the label seems appropriate. However, the grammatical status of *–nuntey* as a sentence-terminal ender has been questioned by certain Korean grammarians. For instance, when a sentence (or a clause) ends with *–nuntey*, its intonation patterns are different from those of a normal declarative. The different patterns are used to signal various communicative functions such as question, request, wonder, etc.

In addition, a sentence ending in *–nuntey* can take an additional sentence -terminal ender, *–yo,* which has been labeled as 'polite ender' (Chang, 1996). If

–nuntey is purely a sentence-terminal ender, there is no reason to add another sentence-terminal ender after it. With regard to this fact, H. Kim (1996: 648) comments that "there is no principled way of characterizing *–nuntey* clauses into appropriate sentence types." Leaving the structural status of *–nuntey* incomplete, some grammarians turn their attention to the discourse functions that it serves in natural use.

4.3 Discourse Approach

Unlike the structural considerations outlined above, the present approach takes the communicative functions of *–nuntey* into consideration. This section is a review of previous studies on *–nuntey* from a discourse/functional perspective which takes contextual factors into serious account.

4.3.1 Lee (1980, 1993)

Unsatisfied with the explanation given by a purely structural approach, Lee (1980) focuses on functional parameters. His basic assumption is that the connective *–nuntey* is for 'providing background information.' He also studies *–nuntey* as a verbal connective, defining two of those major functions: introductory and suggestive. Examples of those functions are given in (4).

(4) a. na nayil Pwusan – ey ka –nuntey mwue pwuthakha– l kes eps - na
I tomorrow Pusan-to go- NFM what ask:for-ATT thing not:be-Q
'I am gong to Pusan tomorrow; is there anything that (you want me) to do there?

b. na – ka cikcep hwakinha – ess - nuntey, Chelswu – ka sihem –ey
I - NM directly check – PST – NFM Chelswu –NM exam – to
ttelece – ess – ta
fail - PST - FE
'I myself checked upon it; Chelswu failed the exam.'
(Lee: 1980)

According to Lee, the *–nuntey*-clause in (4a) signals something new to the addressee's consciousness, i.e., it performs an introductory function. On the other hand, the *–nuntey*-clause in (4b) provides the source of the information. The information provided is a basis for the addressee to evaluate or interpret the following main clause. As a result, "it is up to the hearer to decide to what extent he/she can accept the speaker's assertion" (1993: 523), i.e., a suggestive function.

By putting functional emphasis in the foremost of his linguistic research, Lee argues that the *–nuntey*-clause has much to do with pragmatic interpretation, as shown above. He has certainly contributed to our understanding of the linguistic behaviors of *–nuntey* from a functional perspective. Still, his study is limited in terms of its scope and ability to account for *–nuntey*. As recent studies (H. Kim, 1996; Park, 1999) point out, the data used for his study is sentence-based, even though his analysis is discourse-oriented. Furthermore, the main focus of his discussion is on a *–nuntey*-clause (with relation to the following clause) rather than the basic operational function of *–nuntey*.

4.3.2 H. Kim (1996)

H. Kim's (1996) study goes one step further. He proposes two basic functions for *–nuntey*: as a clausal connective and as a turn-terminal affix.[2] As a clausal connective, *–nuntey* functions to "provide a ground for the discourse" at the macro-level (p. 653). Included in this function are more specific sub-functions: 'introductory,' 'background establishing,' 'explanatory,' and 'speech act,' none with much detail. As a 'turn-terminal' affix, *–nuntey* is used to "invite the addressee to the floor" as a turn-

[2] This turn-terminal affix closely corresponds to sentence-terminal ender.

taking strategy (p.659).

4.3.3 Park (1997, 1999)

More recently, Park (1997, 1999) distinguishes the various functional usages of *–nuntey*. Based on the framework of conversational analysis, she focuses on the *–nuntey* without a main clause in spontaneous conversation. For her, the sentence terminal use of *–nuntey* is a result of 'main clause ellipsis.' Like previous studies, her underlying assumption is that the main function of *–nuntey* is to provide background information for the main clause. Park (1999: 197) observes:

> Using this background, the speaker avoids conveying the same action in a more direct way. It is also by virtue of this background meaning of *–nuntey* that the speaker sets up a point to signal to the interlocutor that something is accountable, thus making it the interlocutor's job to find out what that accountable issue might be. In other words, on the basis of its meaning of providing background, the connective *–nuntey* seems to carry a function of signaling accountability, to set up, hint at, or allude to an 'accountability-relevance' point so that the interlocutor can find out what is expected or projected.

In her explanation, the phrase 'accountability-relevance' is the most important, since it provides a point of departure for the interlocutor. To further clarify what each instance of *–nuntey* does for the interaction between two adjacent turns, she comes up with various interpretive functions. Some of them are:

(5) (a) *–nuntey*-clauses with requests: invites the interlocutor to respond appropriately.
(b) *–nuntey* in dispreferred response: which includes disagreements, denials, rejections, and declinations.
(c) self-identification in telephone openings: in the following framework, 'this is x *–nuntey*, can I talk to Y?'
(d) *–nuntey* in wh-questions: to pursue a specific question.

(e) telling-my-side/topic proffer: to invite some information from the interlocutor to provide his-/her-side-telling.
(f) story-telling sequence: a series of *–nuntey* to show a story-telling sequence.

It is easy to see that the list is not exhaustive. We will have further comments on it in the next section.

In sum, we have seen that the grammatical use of *–nuntey* is described in two ways: inter-clausal marker and sentence-terminal element from the viewpoint of structural distribution. From a discourse perspective, *–nuntey* is always associated with multiple-communicative functions such as background, introduction, suggestion, turn-termination, accountability-relevant point, etc. In spite of the efforts made in previous studies, there is no unified explanation of the behavior of the uses of *–nuntey* as a connective and as a sentence-terminal element. Other than that, the descriptions of communicative functions focus on the here and now nature of *–nuntey* in a talk-in-interaction conversation. We note that previous studies concern themselves more with the content of the *–nuntey*-clause in relation to the subsequent talk than to the nature of *–nuntey* itself. They believe that this relation leads to the occurrences of *–nuntey* and characterizes its interactional features. They do not ask what makes it possible for *–nuntey* to signal such diverse communicative functions. To put it differently, if *–nuntey* is sensitive to sequential constraints and displays discourse linking through its function, what is its central or dominant meaning in the flow of discourse? This is the question we face section 4.4.

4.4 Critical Review and Approach Taken in the Present Study

As have been seen above, *–nuntey* can be regarded in terms of its distributional characteristics as an inter-clausal connective and as a sentence-terminal suffix. In spite of the structural differences, the major functions *–nuntey* serves are very sensitive to discourse contexts. For both positions, its multi-discourse functions are well reflected in its semantic gloss – i.e., 'circumstantial.' However, no study has really addressed the basic question of whether there is any close relation between its uses as clausal connective and sentence-terminal element. In other words, what is the underlying motivation that triggers *–nuntey*, whether as a clausal connective or sentence-terminal element. For this purpose, let's look at the nature of *–nuntey* as an inter-clausal connective in (6).

(6) John – nun haksaeng –i ani - ntey, yelsimhi kongpwu han – ta
-TP student –NM not – NFM hard study do:ATT–FE
'Although John is not a student, he studies hard.'

In (6), *–nuntey* is regarded as a connective in previous studies, for the simple reason that it connects two otherwise independent clauses. At the semantic level, the relation between the two propositions is obviously concessive. This concessive relation might then be attributed to *–nuntey*. Thus, *–nuntey* might be labeled a connective of concession. However, its exact meaning/function is not that straightforward. Let's look at the following examples in (7).

(7) a. John–nun haksaeng –i ani - ntey, kulena yelsimhi kongpwu han – ta
-TP student –NM not – NFM but hard study do:ATT–FE
'Although John is not a student, he studies hard.'

b. John – nun haksaeng –i ani – ntey
-TP student –NM not – NFM
'John is not a student.'

Notice that *–nuntey* in (7a) is followed by the independent contrastive connective *kulena* 'but.' This addition does not bring any discernible change in either the propositional meaning or the relational meaning of concession/contrast from (6) to (7a). If *–nuntey* functioned as a pure connective, we would immediately be faced with the problem of accounting for the appearance of two similar connectives in a row. Furthermore, if the prior story is about *John's study*, it is then also possible for the speaker to end his/her story with *–nuntey* as in (7b), assuming that the participants have certain shared information which allows them to complete the sentence. The *–nuntey* in (7b) definitely goes beyond a purely structural connective. It rather plays a communicative role in allowing some space for the listener to reserve his/her own interpretation of the main clause and thereby provides interactional options for both participants.[3] In this regard, it may be assumed that the use of *–nuntey* is pragmatically/communicatively-based.

In fact, this communicative role is not new. As shown above, it is implied in previous studies that *–nuntey* is used for some communicative purposes. For example, H. Kim (1996: 657) comments that *–nuntey* is used as a negotiating or cooperative strategy to achieve communicative goals. In addition, the term 'circumstantial background' has also been employed to characterize the pragmatic nature of *–nuntey*. However, such notions as communicative goals and circumstantial background are too broad and too vague. Along the same lines, Park (1997: 15) points out that "while the

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[3] With the recent growing interest in discourse studies, many verbal affixes (in a traditional sense) like *–nuntey* have gained new interpretations. For example, Kim and Suh (1994: 115) show that *–nikka* 'because' mainly serves a discourse function (for interactional purposes) rather than a grammatical function (as a connective) in its use. One of its discourse functions is to "provide a textual ground for projecting an extended talk or for projecting upshot in the middle of the story."

view related to 'backgrounding' seems to be intuitively right, the concept is somewhat vague and needs to be specified more."[4] Our primary task, then, is to properly characterize the interactional nature and use of *–nuntey* in discourse.

The present study proposes to treat *–nuntey* as 'non-finality marker' (abbreviated as NFM).[5] This term is structurally justifiable and at the same time is intended to capture the most basic functional and interactive role of *–nuntey*.[6] The notion serves to unify all the interpretations of *–nuntey* by establishing a constant relationship between the *–nuntey*-clause and the following syntactic unit, which may or may not be realized in any linguistic form. If the use of *–nuntey* is interactive in nature, then actual interpretations are possible on two planes: interpersonal and textual.

On the interpersonal plane, *–nuntey* is typically used when there is some context (linguistic or non-linguistic) in the preceding discourse which leads the participants to expect something more. The underlying use of *–nuntey* carries a pragmatic implicature: "I take so-and-so for granted," "the opposite to the *–nuntey* clause must be impossible," etc., thus forcing the partner to consider more. To illustrate,

(8) a. samwel – intey, nwun – i on – ta
march - NFM snow – NM come -FE
'It is March, but we have snow.'

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[4] It seems to me that the term 'circumstantial' is rather passive, because it depends on the interpretive relation between two propositions: the *–nuntey*-clause and the main clause. In the case of the ellipsis of the main clause, it is hard to decide the relation between two propositions. As a result, the term circumstantial itself is of no use. The adoption of circumstantial also falls short of reflecting interpersonal (interactive) relations between participants, since this term refers to the relation between states or situations.

[5] This term is due to Prof. Chu (personal communication).

[6] This is the function which gets someone else to do something. This type of function is regarded as one of the main features of spoken language (Stubbs, 1983: 72). The fact that *–nuntey* is more often found in spoken than in written genre (H. Kim,1996; Park, 1999) supports the interactive nature of *–nuntey*.

b. yelsimhi kongpwu hae – ss - nuntey,
hard study do – PST – NFM
'(I) studied hard, but (e.g., my grades are not good.)'

Roughly, the structure of (7) is like [X –*nuntey*, (Y)]. The specific implication of the structure in (8) is as follows: (Y) is an unexpected event/action in the context of X. That is, X happens at the point where (Y) indicates an event or action against the usual expectation. Thus, the consequence (Y) of the preceding segment is considered unexpected by the speaker who utters or does X. In (8a), the expectation is that it does not snow in March. In spite of this general assumption, we now have snow. By using –*nuntey*, the speaker wants to elaborate on a referent (or event) embedded in X. As a result, (Y) constitutes a further elaboration on the topical point in X. Example (8b) might be used in the case where the speaker does not do well on exams even though he/she studies hard. Here, the –*nuntey*-clause brings about a strong adversative interpretation in the given discourse, though the whole following utterance is implicit. This implicit information is, however, clearly cued by the use of –*nuntey,* which invites the listener to draw inferences from the context. In both cases (8a and b), the second portion is presented as something which should be illustrative of what is said in the –*nuntey*-clause. This particle is thus used as part of the interactional and pragmatic strategies, viz. NFM, adopted by the speaker to provide a textual cue for projecting further talk, explicitly or implicitly, in the subsequent discourse.

On the contextual plane, –*nuntey* as an NFM marks the up-coming segment of talk as a consequence of the preceding segment. In other words, –*nuntey* indicates a warranted continuation relation between the preceding portion of discourse as the background/ topic and the up-coming portion as the elaboration/comment. In this sense,

it is highly possible that *–nuntey* itself possesses some kind of discourse-bound content in relation to what precedes it as a topic.

(9) a. cham cenyeknol alumtawu - ntey, sacin - ilato ccikk – eyatoy-
really sunset beautiful –NFM, picture-even being take a picture–AUX
nun ke - anya
MOD BND.N-TQ
'Sunset is so beautiful. Why don't we take a picture (of it)?'

b. ? cham cenyeknol alumtap – ta. sacin - ilato ccikk – eyatoy-
really sunset beautiful – FE picture-even being take a picture–AUX
nun ke - anya
MOD BND.N-TQ
'Sunset is so beautiful. Why don't we take a picture (of it).'

Let's look at (9a) and (9b) together. The former includes a *–nuntey* clause, while the latter has a formal ending marker *–ta*. Compared to (9a), (9b) is relatively low in its acceptability. The difference in acceptability between (9a) and (9b) is attributable to the presence of *–nuntey* in its linking function.[7] It is an expected explanation if we consider the function of *–nuntey* as an NFM. What interests us here is the operational discourse-role of *–nuntey* from a topic organizing perspective. From this, example (9b) suggests the following relation. The referent *cenyeknol* 'sunset' in the *–nuntey* clause becomes highly topical in relation to the following statement. Based on the observation made above, we can assume that the use of *–nuntey* comes into play in a smooth connection between X (topical background) and Y (elaborated comment) in the [X-nuntey, (Y)] text. That is, *–nuntey* plays a role in indicating that there is more (Y, elaborated comment) to come after the *–nuntey* clause (X, topical background).

[7] The author surveyed five native speakers of Korean on the acceptability of both examples. All of them preferred (9a) to (9b). When asked the reason, the common response was that (9b) is unnatural because there is no connection between the two clauses. Though informal and with a small sample, this result is suggestive.

In view of all these functions, the present study is mainly concerned with one particular aspect –i.e., topic-related implications of *–nuntey*. More specifically, we want to see in what ways *–nuntey* operates in relation to topic organization, including initiation, introduction, establishment, continuation, change or closing of topic (Brown and Yule, 1983; Button and Casey, 1984; Schiffrin, 1987; Bublitz, 1988; Goutsos, 1997; Chu, 1998).

4.5 Topic-Related Talks

One common function of various topic-organizing steps has nothing to do with any conceptual meaning in itself, but with the procedural meaning in the whole construction, i.e., information to signal the participant how to process the discourse.

One well-known linguistic device used for procedural meaning is a discourse marker to orient the reader/hearer to a particular discourse relationship (Brown and Yule, 1983; Schiffrin, 1987; Bublitz, 1988; Fraser, 1990; Stenstrom, 1994; Goutsos, 1997; Jucker and Ziv, 1998). As Stenstrom (1994: 63) also notes, "discourse markers help the speaker organize the discourse. They serve to start a conversation, they serve to introduce and mark the end of a topic; they serve to introduce a digression and mark the resumption of the old topic, and they signal the end of a conversation." Schiffrin (1987: 253) shows, for example, that *then* in English as a discourse marker is used to mark successive subtopics in discourse. Observe the following.

(10) Debby: How many people are in the team?
Irene: Four
Debby: So it's just – the two of [you: and … the t-yeh.]
Irene: [The two couples, yeh.]
And **then** the kids have their own team
(Schiffrin, 1987: 253)

According to her, the answer of Irene is about the membership of the (bowling) team, which is the overall topic. The first subtopic is *the two couples* and the second one is *the kids*. This second subtopic is tagged onto the first one by the discourse marker *then*.

In very much the same way we can deal with the discourse marker *–nuntey* in terms of topic organization. In fact, as in the studies reviewed above, *–nuntey* has been associated very closely with topic-related functions such as introductory, suggestive, background, etc. In spite of all that, little attention has been paid to the role of *–nuntey* in text organization. With this in mind, we will see below how *–nuntey* is used for topic structure and topic organization.

4.5.1 *–Nuntey* in Topic Introduction: A Dynamic Process

Topic-introduction refers to the introduction of a specific topical referent. As Stenstrom (1994: 151) states, topic-introduction means "bringing up a first topic at the beginning or a new topic in the course of the conversation." It is to be distinguished from topic-initiation, which refers to the whole process before a specific topical referent is introduced into a current discourse (Button and Casey, 1984). For instance, the interrogative without a specific referent will be a typical instance of topic-initiation (cf., Kuppevelt, 1995). We stress that what we are discussing in this section is topic introduction rather than topic initiation.

In previous studies, one of the functions attributable to *–nuntey* is exactly topic introduction. For instance, Lee (1980) argues that by using *–nuntey*, the speaker wants to draw the addressee's attention to an entity or event for the first time.

(11) yeysnal i kouley nwunmen apeci -wa ttali sal – ass - nuntey, …
long ago this village blind father-and daughter live-PST-NFM
'Long ago there lived a blind father and his daughter in this village,…'
(Lee, 1993: 521)

According to Lee, the *–nuntey*-clause corresponds to the existential-presentative in English as seen in the English translation. Just as the English existential sentence is used for topic introduction, the Korean *–nuntey*-clause serves the same function. That is, it is used to introduce thematically-important new referents into the discourse. However, Lee's explanation is concerned not with exploring the nature of *–nuntey*, but with the whole clause including *–nuntey*. Remember that in Section 4.4 above, the use of *–nuntey* might warrant a continuation relation between the prior discourse and what follows. Given this possible function, the subsequent discourse by default concentrates on the newly introduced referents, making them more thematically prominent. We note in this respect that it seems a natural consequence to consider the basic function of *–nuntey* as a strong signal that there is something more to say about a new referent.[8] To be more specific, *–nuntey* is used for signaling the upcoming point to be elaborated on by the speaker or the listener in the flow of discourse.

–Nuntey is often said to be used to signal interrogation or exclamation (Ko, 1989; H. Kim, 1996).[9] This fact is easy to understand if we assume, as we did at the beginning of this section, that *–nuntey,* like the interrogative, is used to request a further

[8] It is also interesting to note that syntactically, the *–nuntey* clause appears at the very beginning of a discourse. This is generally regarded as a topic-introduction position.

[9] Sperber and Wilson (1986: 253) point out, both interrogative and exclamative are similar in that they "are specialized for interpretive rather than descriptive use." On the other hand, the interrogative is often taken to be in some sense the basic type of topic-introduction in discourse. This is due to the fact that a referent introduced by the speaker in the form of question is expected be responded to by the addressee. Maynard (1989) states that the speaker plays a role in introducing a theme in an interrogative and the addressee takes a new turn commenting on it.

elaboration on something the speaker has brought up in the discourse. However, the use of *–nuntey* with the interrogative is a little different from purely interrogative markers such as *–nikka*, *–ni*. More specifically, *–nuntey* is used for further elaboration of a new referent on a pragmatic basis, while the pure interrogative markers request missing information for a grammatical slot. Observe and compare the following.

(12) A: cemok – i mwe yess - nuntey
title – NM what be:PST-NFM
'What was the title?'

B: ung, Thacan – intey, cengmal us-ki-tula
um, Tarzan – NFM, really laugh: CAU-IE
'Um, it is Tarzan, (you know what) it is really funny.'

(13) A: cemok – i mwe im – nikka
title – NM what be:NOM-Q
'What was the title?'

B: ung, Thacan
um, Tarzan
'Um, (it is) Tarzan.'

C:? ung, Thacan – intey, cenmal us-ki-tula
um, Tarzan – NFM, really laugh: CAU-IE
'Um, it is Tarzan, (you know what) it is really funny.' (CD)

Native speakers have a feeling that (12) is usually used by the speaker to talk to the addressee when he/she wants more (e.g., a brief comment/story) than just a title. On the other hand, (13) is used when the speaker just seeks information about the title of a movie. That explains the unnaturalness of (13C) which says more than what was asked for. That is, by employing the interactive *–nuntey*, the speaker opens up some space for the hearer to fill in his/her opinion on the movie beyond just giving its title. This, of course, may further provide interactional options for both participants in a continuing

discourse. On the other hand, the interrogative form *–nikka* just asks the hearer simply to provide the missing information without any further comment on the movie.

In addition to the use in the interrogative, *–nuntey* is often said to signal an answer to a question, e.g., (14) below.

(14) A: acwumeni yocum mwusun pidio - ka cal naka – yo?
ma'am these days what video-NM well go out-IE
'Hi, ma'am, what soap opera is most popular these days?'

B: Hecwun – i cal naka –nuntey, *0* taum cwu – myen kkuthna – yo
- NM well go out – NFM next week – if end – IE
'Hecwun is the most popular, it ends next week.'

A: *0* elamna kin – teyyo
how long- IE
'How long is (it)?'

B: *0* han samsip – pyen toyna
around 30-CLF become:IE
'(It's) around 30 or something.' (CD)

Customer A is looking for a popular movie or soap opera. In her response to A's question, clerk B introduces a specific referent by saying "*Hecwun* (a movie name in Korean) is the most popular." But the answer is followed by *–nuntey* so that something further can be added about the newly introduced referent as an elaboration on the answer. Note also that in the next two turns zero anaphors are used to represent the referent "Hecwun." That means, the referent is established as a topic. The function of *–nuntey* in this discourse block is thus clear. *–Nuntey* certainly occurs in an answer, but it is not to mark the utterance as an answer because the utterance will still serve as an answer even without the *–nuntey*. On the other hand, the newly introduced situation, "*Hecwun* is the most popular," is followed by *–nuntey* to indicate that something more is coming up as additional information about the topic. This function, then, is

congruent with the one in a question: in both cases *–nuntey* signals that information will be added.

4.5.2 Topic Negotiation

Topic in discourse is often said to be a result of dynamic interactions. Some topics are introduced directly into a current discourse and others go through rather a complex process which we call negotiation. The negotiation may be analyzed as into the basic processes of initiation, introduction and pick-up.

(15) (Mutual friends, A and B, are studying at the library. It is time for lunch.)

A-1: ya isscanha, kongpwu - to coh - ciman wuli mwe com mek – hey DM study – too good-but we something DM eat nun – key ettelkka. Paekopha cwuk – kess – ta MOD-BND.N how about? Hungry:and die-MODL-FE
'Hey, um. Studying is important, but why don't we eat something (first)? I am almost starving to death.'

B-1: sasil na-to mwuci paekopha – ss – nuntey cal toyess – ta in fact I-too too much hungry-PST-NFM well become:PST– FE
'In fact, I was also starving. Ok, let's go out.'

A-2: mwel mek – ci?
what eat – Q
'What to eat?'

B-2: nan haempege – ka cohul - kes kath – untey I:TP hamburger-NM good:MOD-thing seem – NFM
'Hamburger seems to be ok to me.'

A-3: ani, ttekpoki cip – i saelo saeki–ess– nuntey, keki mass-iss- tey not rice stew house-NM newly open-PST-NFM there taste-be-NFM
'But, there is a new food court for rice stew. (The food) there tastes good.'

B-3: ah, cwuchacang yeph – ey *0* mal ha – nun – ke - ci ah, parking lot side – LOC speech do-ATT-BND.N-Q
'Ah, you are talking about the one next to the parking lot.'

A-4: mac - a
correct:IE
'That's right.' (CD)

The first three turns, A-1 through A-2, form a topic-initiating process where no specific referent appears. B-2 proposes a potential topic: *haempege* 'hamburger,' but makes it tentative by following the proposal with *–nuntey*. But A does not accept the topic and tentatively proposes *ttekpoki* 'rice stew,' by using *–nuntey* in the same manner. The NFM *–nuntey* can make a proposed topic tentative. It leaves room for the hearer to comment on or evaluate what has just been proposed, especially in B-2 where the speaker himself does not elaborate after *–nuntey*. In A-3, the speaker produces another potential topic with *–nuntey* to replace *haembege* 'hamburger.' She seems to be more insistent as she continues to comment on it. This time, the referent *ttekpokicip* 'rice stew house' is picked up as topic in B-3 by the use of a zero anaphor. The negotiating process is now done. While *–nuntey* itself does not negotiate a topic, it helps in the process by opening up the possibility of facilitating a newly proposed potential topic.

4.5.3 Topic Resumption

After a topic is established, some digression may intervene. After a while, a speaker may try to come back to the original topic. The resumption may be helped by a *–nuntey* before the topic is mentioned again. This is illustrated n (16).

(16) A-1: Yang –senbae hakonun yelak hae pwa – ss – eyo?
- Mr. with connection do see- PST-IE
'Did you contact Senior Yang?'

B-1: Yang – senbae, Target – eyes man – ass - nuntey
- Mr. -LOC meet-PST-NFM
'(I) saw him at Target.'

A-2: kulae- ss – eyo. cal cinaen teyyo?
do:so –PST-IE well stay IE
'Really. Is he doing fine?'

B-2: Kichang -uy saengil ttaemwuney senmwul com sale keki ka – ss
-GEN birthday because present DM buy there go-PST
- ketunyo. Aehako cangnangam koluko kuliko sayphing com
IE kid:with toy choose:and CONN shopping DM
hako nao – nuntey, etise manhi pon tushan
do:an come out–NFM somewhere many times see:MOD BN:MOD
salam – i tuleo – teyyo.
person-NM come in - IE
'Because of Kichang's birthday, I went there to buy a birthday present. (I) picked up a toy with my kid and looked around, and then went out, the person I am very familiar with came inside.'

A-3: ettehtheyyo?
how:be:IE
'How is he doing?' (CD)

In A-1 through A-2 of (16), 'Yang-senbae' is introduced, picked up and established, and continued as a topic. But there is a relatively long digression in B-2. The speaker, however, wants to end the digression and come back to the original topic 'Yang-senbae.' At the end of the digression, he uses a *–nuntey* to signal that the resumption of the topic is coming. The NFM *–nuntey* is can do so because, in this case, the digression actually supplies background information on where the speaker ran into the topical referent 'Yang senbae.' Just as in (15), it simply signals that some more information is coming up. The speaker may, of course, do something other than the resume the topic after *–nuntey*, but that would be a further digression. In fact, topic resumption in this case is mainly done by the coreferential noun phrase "the person I am very familiar with." But the occurrence of *–nuntey* definitely helps the hearer to identify the end of one portion of discourse and the beginning of another portion. Those two portions are

related as background and additional information, the latter of which is actually a return to the original narrative.

4.5.4 Topic Continuation as Backchannel

As a form of communication, a conversation proceeds with interactions among participants. In one typical case a speaker's comment is followed by the hearer's feedback. One type of feedback offered by the hearer is backchannelling, which is a minimal answer to signal that the hearer passes up the opportunity for taking over the turn (Maynard, 1989: 171).[10] Example (17) shows that *–nuntey* is used to signal a backchannel to the previous utterance.[11]

(17) A-1: isscanha, ecey Cwungang–ro–eyes sensaeng–nim mann-ass-nuntey
DM yesterday -street-LOC teacher–HON meet-PST-NFM
'You know what, I ran into the teacher at Chwungang street, yesterday.'

B-1: mann-ass-nuntey
meet-PST-NFM
'You ran into (him) and (What happened?) '

A-2: kulsseyi, etten yeca hako deyithu hemeyn - key
DM certain woman together out-going do-PROG-IE
'(It is likely that he) was going out with a woman.' (CD)

In (17), A-1 introduces a topical referent *sensaengnim* 'teacher' by using *–nuntey,* which also signals that there is more to come. As a reaction, the hearer shows that she

[10] Maynard (1989: 171) characterizes back-channel behavior in Japanese in terms of six features: (1) Continuer, (2) Display of understanding of content, (3) Support for the speaker's judgment, (4) Agreement, (5) Strong emotional response, and (6) Minor addition, correction, or request for information. In addition, she also mentions that the fact that "the Japanese language provides for devices such as final particles not only at the end of the sentence but also sentence-internally makes it possible to make overtly the potential moments for back-channel expressions." Typologically close to Japanese, a similar observation might be made for the Korean language.

[11] Included in (17) are some dialectal expressions of Cheju, where the data were collected by the author.

is paying attention to what is being said by repeating the main verb *nannass* 'met' with the subject and the object in the form of zero anaphors. She is also aware of the other speaker's intention to keep on talking, which is signaled by *–nuntey*. Thus, speaker B ends her response with *–nuntey* to invite speaker A to continue with what she has been telling about the topic *sensaengnim* 'teacher.' In this sense, the NFM *–nuntey* in B-1 is interpretable as a signal for back-channeling. This interpretation, of course, can be traced back to its function of signaling that more information is to come.

4.5.5 Sentence-Internal *–nuntey*: From a Topic-Structure Point of View

We will wind up the section with what we call the sentence-internal *–nuntey*. Sentence-internal *–nuntey* is schematized as [X-nuntey, Y], where both X and Y are propositions. Interestingly, this type displays a strong similarity to topic-comment structure. The structure is strongly reminiscent of a typical topic structure [A-nun B] in which *–nun* is the topic marker. The similarity between the two lies in the fact that the whole structure is spoken by one speaker and Y and B is elaborations on X and A, respectively. The difference is that while X and Y are in general propositions, A and B are generally subject and predicate.

Focusing on the topic-relation between X and Y in [X-nuntey, Y], Kim (1987) treats *–nuntey* as a 'Local Discontinuity Marker.' He contends that it "signals a break in information flow or topic discontinuity" (p. 25). His argument is based on the assumption that there is a 'change of participants (or a switch reference)' before and after *–nuntey*. That is, the clause topic of X and that of Y are generally different in the structure [X-nuntey, Y]. Observe the following example.

(18) a. …pae – lul path - un i se namcaai - tul - i pae -lul
pear-ACC receive-ATT this three boy –PL – NM pear-ACC

b. meku – myense *0* kuleko ka - taka
eat – SIM *0* like:that go – IE

c. ku pae – lul ttako – iss – nun nongpwu – lul pae namwu – mith –ul
that pear-ACC pick-PROG-ATT farmer – ACC pear tree-under-ACC

d. cinaga – nuntey, ku icene nongpwu – ka pae – lul tta – kose
pass by- NFM that earlier farmer – NM pear-ACC pick-and

e. satali - lul naelye - se…
ladder - ACC come down-and …

'(While) the three boys who got the pears were eating them, and (they were) walking like that, (and they) happened to pass by under the tree where the farmer has been picking pears, and had come down the ladder, …' (Kim, 1987: 25)

The first three lines (18a, b, and c) have the same subject (the three boys), showing continuity of the referent. The next two lines (18d and e) have a different referent (the farmer) as the subject. By Kim's account, this type of switch-reference is regarded as topic change. Here, *–nuntey* plays a pivotal role in signaling discontinuity of the topic "the three boys" and the beginning of the new topic "the farmer". But this simple view is hardly the case. For instance, we can use other sentence-enders, whether formal (e.g., *–ta*) or informal (e.g., *–ko*), instead of *–nuntey* and there is still discontinuity of topic. Therefore, we can't merely attribute the discontinuity to the use of *–ta* or *–ko* as in *–nuntey*. It seems evident that *–nuntey* itself, just like the other sentence-enders, has nothing to do with triggering discontinuity between two structures (X and Y). On top of this, 24.4% of the *–nuntey* clauses in Kim's own study do not go through switch-reference.

In Section 4.4, we assumed that [X-nuntey, Y] is a type of topic-comment structure in which X is topic and Y, comment. X is the topic in the sense of 'question of immediate concern' (Keenan and Schieffelin, 1976: 338), to which the immediately following utterance is a response. Y is the comment, as it is the utterance 'about' a preceding referent or event presented in X. Recall that in Chapter 3 the notion 'aboutness' is interpreted as a relational term used for expressing information which is relevant to and increases the addressee's knowledge of some referent/event. In a more general sense, we can say that the speaker uses *–nuntey* between the first part of a message, X, which is presumably common ground and the second part of the same message, Y, which is new relation to X. From a discourse perspective, the role of *–nuntey* is to indicate that the speaker is going to add more information Y to X. The semantic/pragmatic relationship between X and Y, however, is varied. In many cases, X may very well constitute an appropriate condition for Y to follow. The use of *–nuntey*, then, is merely an overt signal for the reader/hearer to expect what can normally be said of X. But, in some cases, X may not constitute a normal condition for Y. The use of *–nuntey* in these cases strongly indicates the writer/speaker is trying to persuade the reader/hearer to impose a connection between X and Y. In other words, *–nuntey* serves the function of signaling a continuative (or linking) relation between the preceding antecedent/event as the topic/background and the up-coming consequence as the comment/elaboration. Observe the following.

(19) A: nay cimcak – i – ntey, nayil pi – ka o – n – ta.
my guess – be – NFM tomorrow rain-NM come-ATT-FE.
'It is my guess: it will rain tomorrow.'

B: chinkwu – ka iss – nuntey, cham pwuca – yey – yo
friend - NM be – NFM very rich man-be-IE
'I have a friend, and (he) is very rich.'
(H. Kim, 1996: 640)

In the examples in (19), the *–nuntey*-clauses are said to serve suggestive and introductory functions, respectively. In fact, the relations of suggestion and introduction remain intact even when *–nuntey* is removed from the sentences. The reason the speaker uses *–nuntey* is to raise the expectation that something relevant is to be added to that portion of the message that precedes it. This also explains why *–nuntey* is almost always followed by a pause in speech and a comma in writing. The specific interpretation of the semantic/pragmatic relationship between the two portions of the message is susceptible to the semantic contents of each portion of that message.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter considers the discourse marker *–nuntey* in terms of a dynamic process of topic-generation. We have first investigated the nature of *–nuntey* in previous studies. Previous analyses of *–nuntey* have been done from two different perspectives: structural and discoursal. The former is by nature rather descriptive and is simply based on its distribution. It characterizes *–nuntey* as having two structural functions, viz. connective and sentence-(terminal) ending. The common treatment of *–nuntey* as being either of them does not appear to offer any insight beyond its distributional properties. Its alleged (adversative) connective force turns out to be attributable to the discourse considerations of the more general function of *–nuntey*, i.e., NFM, in our sense. The latter draws grammarians' attention to the discourse functions

of *–nuntey*. All of findings are surface interpretations of the marker in specific contexts and they do not offer any in-depth view of the basic nature of *–nuntey*.

The present study accounts for *–nuntey* in terms of topic organization. We suggest that the primary function of *–nuntey* is to signal the 'non-finality' of the stretch of discourse that precedes it. And thus it is labeled non-finality marker (NFM). Our assumption is that the basic function of *–nuntey* is pragmatically motivated, not grammatically based. Our main findings are based on this proposal. They are briefly summarized below.

Basic Property	>	Derived functions	>	Structural Interpretations
Non-finality marking		To signal more information is yet to come To invite hearer's interaction		Topic introduction Topic resumption Topic continuation Topic negotiation

'Non-finality marking' stresses that elaboration on the *–nuntey*-clause is coming. From the above schema it is clear that we are dealing with various topic-related uses which are derived from one and the same discourse function. Still, more topic interpretations might arise with more discourse considerations.

In our discussion, topic in discourse results from various interactions in a given context. The first strategy of topic-interactions might be called topic-introduction. It brings up a first topic at the beginning of the discourse. *–Nuntey*, as an NFM, helps introduce a topical expression into the flow of discourse. Its procedural function is justified by its derivational functions, 'more information is yet to come by inviting the hearer's active involvement.' The same also holds true for the other strategies, even though there is some difference in the emphasis of derivational functions. In other

words, the hearer's interactions, for instance, may be more significant than to signal more information to keep the topic rolling.

Finally, we discuss the structure [X-nuntey, Y], where X and Y are propositions. The structure [X-nuntey, Y] is in general a type of topic-comment schema in which X is related to topic and Y to comment. The analysis is due to the functional role of *–nuntey*. To be specific, *–nuntey* as an NFM is used to raise the expectation that something relevant is necessarily to be added to that portion of the message that precedes it. Thus, we have provided a unified explanation for the basic meaning/function and the actual use of *–nuntey* in discourse.

CHAPTER FIVE
THE SYNTAX AND PRAGMATICS OF *–ISSCANHA*: TOPIC ORGANIZER

5.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates the nature of the discourse marker *–isscanha* in terms of topic interpretation. The focus is on the function of this marker to introduce a potential new topic in conversational discourse. Specific emphasis will be put on its function to enhance interactional procedures as a dynamic aspect of topic progression.

This chapter is organized as follows. In Section 5.2, we examine the compositional meaning of *–isscanha*: *–iss* as an existential verb and *–canha* as a suffix. In Section 5.3, we discuss the nature of *–isscanha* as a discourse marker by outlining its syntactic and pragmatic distributions. In Section 5.4, we propose 'attention-calling' as the basic property of *–isscanha*, followed by a discussion of topic-related uses such as topic-introduction, topic-establishment, topic-seeking, topic-shift, and listing of topics. Section 5.5 is designed for a brief comparison of *–isscanha* with the discourse marker *–nuntey*, as described Chapter 4. Finally, in Section, 5.6, we provide a summary and conclusion by schematizing the relationship between the basic property of *–isscanha* and its structural interpretations.

5.2 The Static Nature of *–isscanha*

5.2.1 The Basic Meanings of *–iss* and *–canha*

From a structural perspective, *–isscanha* may be analyzed into two parts: the verb stem *–iss* and the grammatical morpheme *–canha*, a sentence-final particle. This analysis is based on the fact that the verb *–iss* has been widely treated as having a semantic meaning and *–canha* as serving non-grammatical functions such as attitude, certainty, etc. In the following, we look at the semantic nature of *–iss* followed by the functional role of *–canha* (including *–ci* and *–cyo*). In this study, *–isscanha* will be glossed as a discourse marker, except when it occurs as a main verb with a propositional meaning. The discourse marker *–isscanha* may also be realized as either of two different morphosyntactic forms: *–issci* or *–isscyo*, depending on socio-cultural or stylistic factors. In our discussion, the base form *–isscanha* is used as the representative.

The primitive semantic interpretations of the verb *–iss* cover three basic areas of meaning: (a)'stay,' 'be,' 'exist;' (b) 'be located;' and (c) 'have' (Martin, 1992: 218).[1] Examples to illustrate those meanings are given below:

(1) a. ku – nun cip –ey iss-ci anh - ta
he – TP home-LOC stay-COMP not – FE
'He is not at home.' Or 'he does not stay at home.'

b. cip aph – ey khun namwu – ka iss - ess -ta
house front-LOC big tree – NM be - PST - FE
'There used to be a big tree in front of (our) house.'

[1] As Martin points out, the nature of the stem '*–iss*' is tricky. The reason for this difficulty is that it is in part like a verb and in part like an adjective in terms of syntactic and semantic nature. Grammarians and linguists disagree on its nature.

c. apeci – nun sae cha – ka iss - ta
dad - TP new car – NM have- FE
'(My) dad has a new car.'

In these examples, the verb stem *–iss* denotes not only existence but also possession and location. In fact, however, a case can be made that *–iss* is basically an existential verb and these interpretations can be derived from its syntactic structures. Structurally, the existential or locative meaning of the verb is accompanied by an argument in the locative case, as in (1a) and (1b) and the possessive meaning can be derived from an argument in the nominative case shifted from accusative /dative, as in (1c). The interpretations are easily integrated into the syntactic structure of the sentence.

On the other hand, the form *–canha* is understood as a result of contraction of the long form of negation (Kawanishi and Sohn, 1993; Lee, 1999),[2] i.e., *–ci* 'Comp' + *–anh* 'not.' In modern Korean, *–canha* is used as one of the numerous sentence-final particles. According to Kawanishi and Sohn, the reduction of *–ci* + *anh* to *–canh* is a grammaticalization process, by which "the meaning of *–canh–* moves toward an

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[2] According to J. Kim (1996: 25), there are two forms of negation in Korean: short NEG and long NEG. The former has the form of [*–an* 'not' + verb] and the latter has the form of [verb + *-ci* 'Comp' (Nominalizer in Kim's term) + *-an* 'not']. For example:

a. **Affirmative**
ku nye - nun yeyppu - ta
the woman TP pretty – FE
'The woman is pretty.'

b. **short NEG**
ku nye - nun an- yeyppu - ta
the woman TP NEG- pretty – FE
'The woman is not pretty.'

c. **long NEG**
ku nye - nun yeyppu - ci an - ta
the woman TP pretty –COMP NEG FE
'It is not the case that the woman is pretty.' (J. Kim, 1996:26)

interactional function and a speaker-centered situation, denoting the speaker's subjective evaluation" (1993:552).[3] They further argue that the speaker's subjectivity now prevails in the actual use of the contracted form. Though interesting, their argument is weak. The pragmatic meaning is not in any way derivable from the combination of the meanings of the components. Lee (1999) also agrees with Kawanishi and Sohn on the interactional function of *–canha*. They all believe that the use of this interactional marker indicates the 'high expectation' of the speaker on the addressee's agreement, e.g.,

(2) wuli - ka nemwu ilccik wass - canha
we – NM too early come:PST- IE
'We came too early, don't you think?'

Note that the tag form 'don't you think' in the English translation corresponds to the pragmatic implication of *–canha* indicating the speaker's high expectation.

5.2.2 The Basic Meanings of *–ci* in *-issci*

As mentioned above, *–isscanha* has two variants in our data: *–issci* and *–isscyo*. The form *–isscyo* is a contraction of two constituents: *–issci* + *yo* 'polite ending marker.' As there is no other semantic difference between *–issci* and *–isscyo*, we will discuss *–issci* only. Simply put, *–ci* is one of a large number of sentence-final particles in Korean. As in many other cases, earlier literature treats it with an emphasis on its semantic nature. For example, Martin (1992:301-302) features this particle as a 'suspective' marker, which is said to be comparable to such parenthetical expressions in English as 'I suppose,' 'I guess,' 'I presume,' and 'I believe.' Lee

[3] In fact, the tendency of grammaticalization from propositional to subjective attitude is found in cross-linguistic studies (Traugott, 1989).

(1993: 15-19), however, characterizes it in interactional terms: By using this particle, "the speaker believes in the truth of the proposition and also believes or expects that the addressee will agree with him/her." More recently, Lee (1999) further claims that this particle has a multi-functional interpretation. That is, in different speech act contexts (statement, question, or command), it can have such different discourse-functional meanings as 'the speaker's supposition, asking for confirmation, suggestion,' etc. In all the findings about this particle, one point deserves our attention. Despite their close relationship, *–ci* signals "a low degree of expectations," while *–canha* signals "a high degree of expectations" (Lee, 1999:269). On the other hand, they can combine with the verb stem *–iss* to be used as an alternative discourse marker. The apparent contradiction needs further investigation, which is beyond the scope of the present research.

5.3 The Dynamic Nature of *-isscanha*

In the sections above, we saw *–isscanha* as a combination of two different forms: the verb *–iss* and the suffix *–canha*. Together, they evoke a fixed lexical meaning, viz. existential. In this section, we argue that *–isscanha* as a whole is used as a discourse marker whose functional interpretations depend on the process of discourse production and comprehension. This procedural approach is compatible with the dynamic nature of *–isscanha*. In what follows, we will see that the dynamicity of *–isscanha* contributes to various interpretations of its fundamental meaning in conjunction with discourse and situational contexts.

5.3.1 Verb vs. Discourse Marker

In Section 5.2.2, we examined the basic meanings of *–iss* and *–canha*. It has been shown that the verb stem *-iss* has its own inherent semantic meaning and grammatical function and that when suffixed to a verb stem, *–canha* (or *–ci*) is found to perform interactional functions with regard to speech acts. It is interesting to note, therefore, what meaning and function are produced when the two components are combined to function together in actual situation.

In our analysis, the marker *–isscanha* evokes two kinds of meaning: content and pragmatic.[4] The distinction is made on the usual assumption that content meaning makes some contribution to the propositional meaning of the utterances, while pragmatic meaning does not. To illustrate, let's look at the following examples in (3):

(3) a. apeci - ka pang – ey isscanha
father – NM room-LOC be: MODL
'(It is a little surprising that) father is in the room.'

b. saelo – o – n sensaeng – nim isscanha,
new – come-MOD teacher-HON DM
'You know, the new teacher.'
'Speaking of the new teacher.'

b' isscanha saelo – o – n sensaeng – nim,
DM new – come-MOD teacher-HON
'You know, the new teacher.'
'Speaking of the new teacher.'

(3a) and (3b) differ with regard to the function of *–isscanha*. The one in (3a) is an existential verb and carries its canonical and referential meaning. In contrast, the one in (3b) is a discourse marker, because it makes no contribution to the propositional

[4] These terms are proposed by Fraser (1990) to replace the catch-all 'sentence meaning' in order to capture the subtle semantic connotations of discourse markers.

meaning of the sentence. Rather, it draws the hearer's attention to the 'new teacher' the speaker wants to comment on. It can therefore be said that the use of *–isscanha* in (3b) is pragmatically motivated. The fact that there is no significant difference in semantic nuance between (3b) and (3b') and that they are interchangeable is an additional piece of evidence that the particle doesn't serve any syntactic or semantic function in this particular case.[5]

In a similar vein, Lee (1984: 30) argues, without any detail, that the interrogative use of the existential morpheme *–iss* combined with the *–ci* (i.e., *–issci*) serves as a 'try-marker.' The main function of the try-marker is to introduce a new subject matter into discourse effectively by the speaker. The employment of this marker has an impact on cueing the hearer for the effective interpretation. This may account for its several possible English translations in (3b) – 'speaking of,' 'you know,' 'guess what,' etc.

In what follows, we first examine the syntactic and pragmatic distributions of *–isscanha*, followed by the investigation of its basic meaning. This observation of the basic nature leads us to further discuss the discourse-functional roles of the marker in terms of dynamic interactions of topic organization.

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[5] This does not mean that there is no discourse/functional difference between the two. Intuitively speaking, the use of *–isscanha* at the very beginning of a discourse attracts the hearer's attention more emphatically. Prof. Kyu-Hyun Kim also makes a similar point (personal communication).

5.3.2 *–Isscanha* as Discourse Marker: Its Syntactic and Pragmatic Distributions

The examples in (4) illustrate the flexible positioning of *–isscanha*. This shows the distributional characteristics of this marker and its operational purposes. All examples are excerpted from my spoken data.[6]

(4) (a) suspended clause + *-isscanha*:[7]
Wecu – eyse swupak – ul sa – ss - nuntey, isscanha
Wards –LOC watermelon –ACC buy-PST NFM, DM
'You know what, we bought a watermelon at Wards…'

(b) (demonstrative+) nominal phrase + *-isscanha*:
ku salam isscanha way saelo o - n sensaeng
that person DM DM new come-MOD teacher
'The person, you know, he is a new teacher.'

(c) REL-clause + N + *-isscanha*:
na – ka malha – lyeko ha – nun ken – issci, ney – ka calmos ha
I - NM talk - PURP do – MOD BND.N.-DM you-NM wrong do
- ess – ta - nun – key anila ……
PST-QUOT MOD-BND.N not
'What I want to talk about is not that you are wrong, but…….'

(d) DM + *-isscanha*:
kuntey isscanhayo kacko tanillyemyen …
DM DM carry:and walk around:if
'If (you want to) carry around…'

(e) (vocative) + *-isscanha*:
sensaeng – nim isscanhayo, Yenghee - ka onul hakyo mos
teacher - HON DM Yenghee - NM today school will-not
o - nteyo.
come-IE
'You know, teacher, Yenghee won't come to school today.'

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[6] The data for the present chapter is drawn from various conversations, e.g., a conversation between graduate students at UF, a conversation between mother and son, a telephone conversation between brother-in-law and sister, and a conversation among teens.

[7] Suspended clause is one which "bears markers for subordination (or more broadly interclausal dependency) and yet is not accompanied by main clauses" (Ohori, 1995: 201).

(f) adverbial + *-isscanha*:
kulem ene cwungey isscanhayo, hakkyo – eyse kongsikcekulo
DM language among DM school – LOC formally
sayongha - nun ene – nun mwe ey - yo?
use - MOD language-TP what be - Q
'Among other languages, what is the formal language used in school?'

(g) DM + *-isscanha* + Vocative:
ceki isscyo senpaenim, naeil ce isa haeyo
DM DM senior:HON tomorrow I moving out do:IE
'Hi, senior, I am going to move out tomorrow.'

(h) *–isscanha* + question:
isscanha, nen wuntong cwungey mwel ceil coha – ha - ni?
DM you sport among what best like – do – Q
'Hey, what is your favorite sport?'

(i) *–isscanah* + suspended clause:
A: kulentey, isscanha halmeni taek – ey ka - nuntey
by the way, DM grandmother house-LOC go – NFM
B: kuntey
so what?
A: kyothongsako – ka na – nun cangmyen - ul mokyek hae – ss -
traffic accident-NM happen-MOD scene-ACC witness do – PST
e. elmana nolla - ess – nun ci mol - la
IE. How much surprise-PST-MOD BND. N not:know - IE

A: 'By the way, when I went to (my) grandmother's house'
B: 'So what ?'
A: 'I witnessed a traffic accident. You never know how appalled (I was)!'

While not exhaustive, the examples listed in (4) are intended to show some important distributions of *–isscanha*. These combinatory relations can be schematically represented in the following.

(5) a. [(VOC) + isscanha + (VOC)] + proposition
b. [DM + isscanha] + proposition
c. [proposition/adverbial] + isscanha
d. Nominal + isscanha

The formulae presented in (5) represent the skeletal framework for the structural positioning of *–isscanha*. In (5a), the discourse marker *–isscanha* typically precedes or follows a vocative and the resulting combination is accompanied by a proposition. The vocative, however, is easily elided. This relation holds in examples (4e, g, h, and i). The same marker in (5b) is preceded by another discourse marker and followed by a proposition. Examples (4d and g) are included in this relation. In the case of (5c), a proposition or an adverbial precedes the discourse marker *–isscanha* as in (4a). Interestingly, both the proposition and the adverbial can be understood as background to the topical interpretation of the subsequent segments. Schema (5d) is the case where a nominal portion is preceded by the marker *–isscanha*. With the help of this marker, the nominal element can easily get topical interpretation for the following discourse.

Overall, the structural fact is that *–isscanha* strongly tends to appear at a very early stage of a given text. The preference for this structural position, as seen in note 5 above, can be explained on the basis of its inherent property of attention-calling. Yet, on the other hand, as manifested in the English translations in (4), the semantics of the particle is extremely hard to pin down, not to mention its discourse-pragmatic functions. The fluid nature of its semantic and pragmatic status will account for the various interpretations in actual discourse. Bearing in mind the analysis of *–isscanha* as a discourse marker, we will turn our attention to its use as a topic marker in the following sections.

5.4 Topic-Related Talk

The discussion of *–isscanha* thus far has focused on its distribution without any assessment of its functions. The present section is mainly concerned with how the marker *–isscanha* assists in the smooth flow of topic in discourse. In other words, the use of this marker helps organize a topic in topic introduction, development, etc. More specifically, we examine the discourse-topical functions of *–isscanha* in accordance with the types of actual interpretation intended by the speaker to trigger topicality.

5.4.1 The Basic Property of *–isscanha*: Attention-Calling

It seems that questions concerning the role of consciousness in topic studies, however difficult to answer, are important. The following are among the cognitive concepts associated with topic identification: '(semi-) activation' (Chafe, 1976, 1994; Lambrecht, 1994), 'recoverability' (Geluykens, 1991), 'salient' and 'important' (Givón, 1989), 'inferrable,' 'accessibility,' 'predictability' (Prince, 1981), etc. A common denominator underlying all those concepts seems to be 'attention.'

The notion 'attention' has been considered one of the preferred psychological perceptions in topic-related studies. For example, Li and Thompson (1976: 46) argue that a topic serves as "the center of attention" of the sentence. Givón (1995: 333-336) analyzes the strategic function of attention in light of grammatical devices related to topic realization. He proposes that topical referential structures (e.g., Left-dislocation, Right-dislocation and Y-movement) are characterized in terms of 'attention.' Consequently, 'referential continuity' is equivalent to 'attentional continuity.' From a

linearization perspective, he suggests that "the initial item in a string of information tends to receive *more attention*, it is *memorized better* and *retrieved faster*, compared to non-initial items. … The pre-posing of more urgent information … must then be a communicative device designed to attract more *attention*,…" (1989: 235, original emphasis). According to him, the cognitive dimension 'attention' is closely related to 'topic persistence' to indicate 'importance in cataphoric context.'[8] With regard to the Korean topic marker *–nun*, Kim (1983) holds a similar position. That is, the topic particle *–nun* (syntactically in a sentence-initial position) in Korean has an attention-attraction function, i.e., it is "a means of securing the listener/reader's attention" (p73). In other words, this particle directs the attention of the listener/reader to the elements that are at the center of the speaker/writer's interest.

Before we proceed further, it might be useful to touch on one more simple question: Why would a speaker want to draw the hearer's attention to an existing entity or ongoing event? In other words, what is the main operational effect caused by calling for attention from the hearer? The answer is offered briefly by looking at a

[8] Text-based measures of the topicality (Givón, 1989: 216):

measure (operational definition)	discourse dimension	cognitive dimension
(a) Referential Distance: "The number of clauses (or elapsed time) from the last occurrence in the preceding discourse"	predictability in anaphoric context	memory decay
(b) Potential Interference: "The number of semantically compatible referents within the preceding three clauses"	predictability in anaphoric context	competing referent searches
(c) Topic Persistence: "The number of recurrences of the referent in the subsequent ten clauses"	importance in cataphoric context	attention

description of current theories of attention provided by Tomlin and Villa (1994). According to them, the human attention system consists of three components: alertness, orientation, and detection. 'Alertness' is "an overall, general readiness to deal with incoming stimuli or data… In general, as alertness increases, the rate at which information is selected for further processing also increases" (p.190). The key idea of 'orientation' is that "the specific aligning of attention ("orienting") on a stimulus has facilitative or inhibitory consequences for further processing…" (p.191). And the 'detection' of information "makes further processing possible" (p.192). Taken together, the function of attention helps facilitate the processing of discourse along with the thematic information.

An example for the procedural meaning interpretation of attention-calling is the English discourse marker *you know* in the initial position, which serves to rouse the hearer's interest (Holmes, 1986: 5-6). Similarly Schiffrin (1987: 285) claims that one of the functions of *you know* "is to solicit hearer attention to propositions derivable from an entire discourse." Let's take an example from Schiffrin (1987: 289).

(6) Henry: *Y'know* what I like the best? I like the seashore area.

Zelda: But see now I'm getting so used to it that I don't even mind it. Well- *y'know* what? And especially when the- when a child comes along. Because what happens, is 'hi Grandmom!'

According to Schiffrin, the use of *y'know* is intended to highlight a new point in an argument, illustrating the optionality of a hearer response. Therefore, it seems to me that the cognitive operation 'attention' is understood as resulting from the speaker's interactive intention or attitude towards the hearer.

Now, consider the basic property of *–isscanha*. The main assumption of the present study is that the core function of the discourse marker *–isscanha* serves a function to elicit and attract the hearer's 'attention' to the content of what follows. With some extension, this marker may be understood as a direct signal to provide the participant(s) with instructions on how the utterances are to be organized in discourse interpretation. As such, it helps keep track of a stretch of text where there is an introduction or reorientation of a thematic unit. The term attention is understood in the present study as readiness for further processing of a state of affair or event (Tomlin and Villa, 1994), and it also includes Zubin's (1979: 473) highlighting an item or event due to the 'focus of participants' interest.' Thus, it is assumed in this study that the discourse marker *–isscanha* signals an appeal to the involvement and cooperation of the addressee in the subsequent speech-event. In other words, attention-calling may be viewed as a structural device to set up a topical item or event for the following informative segment(s) of discourse.

First, consider the example with *–isscanha* used at the beginning stage of telling an event.

(7) A: cal cinae – ci
well spend – Q
'How are you doing?'

B: isscanha hyungbwu, emeni – ka tokkamey kelli – ess - nuntey
DM brother-in-law mother-NM severe cold catch-PST- NFM
'You know what, brother-in-law, mother got a severe cold.'

A: way
why?
'What's the matter?'

B: molla, yocum pam – ey chwup-canha
not:know these days night-at cold - IE
'(I) don't know. It is cold at night these days.'

A: pyengwen – ey – nun?
hospital- LOC-TP
(Is she) in the hospital? – i.e. Did she see the doctor?
(CD)

This is the very beginning of a phone conversation between a man and his wife's sister. Speaker A (the brother-in-law) starts off his conversation by using some formulaic expression for greeting *cal cinaeci* 'How are you doing?' In response, speaker B (the sister-in-law) tries to inform her brother-in-law of a new event not yet known to him. Faced with the situation as to how to break the news more effectively, speaker B uses the discourse marker *–isscanha* to solicit the listener's attention to what follows. By drawing the listener's attention to what is coming, the speaker prepares herself for imparting an important message. With the hearer's attention properly secured through the use of *–isscanha*, speaker B now has a clear path to convey the message without any interruption. Without the discourse marker *–isscanha*, the interaction between the participants is much less clearly defined. The lack of this marker may thus sometimes retard the smooth progression of the discourse and the understanding of discoursal interactions.

Example (8) is another extract from the data. This time, the marker *–isscanha* is used at a non-initial position of a discourse unit.

(8) A: i kkoch – un wae sa - ss - e?
this flower – TP why buy –PST-Q?
'What are these flowers for?'

B: kunyang o - lyenuntey isscanha neykaeey ilbul i - canha.
without buying come – PURP DM four a dollar be-IE.
issci onul – un sseil aithem – i manh tula
DM today-TP sale item - NM many – IE
'I was going to come without buying anything, but you know, what a price, four for a dollar. You know what, today, there are many items on sale.'

A: eteyse sa – ss - nuntey?
where buy-PST-NFM
'Where did you buy (them)?' (CD)

In the exchange in (8) between husband and wife, the topic is the flowers which are introduced at the very beginning of the conversation in the form of a question. The question in line 1 takes place because it is unusual for B, the wife, to buy flowers for A, the husband. Speaker B answers with an explanation, which forms the main portion of the discourse. The answer is punctuated with not one, but two instances of *–isscanha*. The first in front of *neykaeey ilbul icanha* 'four for a dollar' is obviously used to draw A's attention to the main reason – the low price of flowers. The second one (*–issci*, a variant of *–isscanha*) leads A's attention to an explanation of why the price is so low – by introducing the fact that there are many items on sale today. The two occurrences of *–isscanha* in this very short discourse tell the listener to pay attention to what is to be mentioned next.

The example in (9) illustrates *–isscanha* co-occurring with the connective *–nuntey*. The occurrence of two connectives, one after the other, may appear to be puzzling, especially they seem to perform similar functions.

(9) A1: khempwute – nun sasye - ss - eyo?
computer - TM buy - PST- IE
'Did you buy a computer?'

B1: acik – yo
yet – IE
'Not yet.'

A2: ettenkey coha – yo. teyskhuthap animyen…
what type like – IE. desktop not: if …
'What's your recommendation? Desktop or…

B2: teyskhuthap – i com ssa-ko, yonglyang – i khutulakwuyo
desktop - NM a little cheap-and capacity – NM big: IE
'Desktop is a little cheaper and (it's) capacity is bigger.'

A3: khunikka tangyen hacyo. Kuntey isscanhayo kacko tanillyemyen
big:because no doubt do:IE DM DM carry:and walk around:if
nothubwuk – i coh – ki – n ha -ntey
laptop – NM good-NOM-TP do-NFM
'No doubt because it is big. However, if (you want to) carry around,
a laptop is much better.'

B3: sasil, na- to nothubwuk – i thamna - ketunyo
in fact, I –DLM laptop - NM want - IE
'As a matter of fact, a laptop is what I (really) want to have.'

(CD)

In (9), the connective *–kuntey* in A3 signals a concession or a second point to be considered, corresponding to the English discourse marker 'however.' It indicates the shift from the current topic to a new one. While *–kuntey* marks the process of moving from one topic to another, it does not strongly urge the listener to pay attention to the new topic. The use of *–isscanha* collocated with the preceding marker *–kuntey* signals that the listener should pay attention to what follows the transition. It marks the following segment of discourse as more salient that what has come before. Such being the case, the use of *–isscanha* in (9) is completely congruent with its fundamental property (i.e., attention-calling), vis-à-vis the other co-occurring connective *–kuntey*, which signals concession.

To recapitulate, the discourse function of *–isscanha* as an attention-calling marker can be understood as a direct signal to instruct the participants on how the utterance is to be organized and interpreted in the discourse. In this capacity, the marker helps keep track of a stretch of discourse by explicitly signaling that there is a shift or reorientation of the thematic development. As topic is an overt device for thematic organization, we will further examine how *–isscanha* behaves in terms of the topical relations between preceding and following discourse on the basis of its semantic property of drawing attention.

5.4.2 Topic Generation

5.4.2.1 Topic generation in general

In Chapter 2, we noted that many studies on topic are done in a sentence-based analysis. Their main focus is on the clarification of syntactic and semantic properties of a topical entity. Therefore, this approach is labeled as 'what' in Goutsos' (1997:2) sense. Unfortunately, this narrow view does not provide any satisfactory explanations when discourse is involved. Furthermore, topic is not an entity which can be defined in terms of any single notion, syntactic, semantic or pragmatic. The interpretation of topic resides in the interaction between several contextual factors at the discourse level. Therefore, the main focus should be on a procedure of topic-establishment – i.e., 'how' in Goutsos' (1997: 2) sense.

Chu (1998) proposes three stages of topic formation: "introduction, pick-up" and "continuation" (p. 261). The first two stages are essential and the third one is

optional, since non-continuation leads to the introduction/pick-up process of a new topic. His main focus in proposing topic formation is on the link of a topic entity to the rest of discourse (e.g., through a topic chain). Here the determination of topic is rather textually oriented, depending on the mechanism known as 'referent-tracking' by linguistic devices (See Chapter 3 for marked vs. unmarked topics). The three stages apply to discourse or text organization.

Another topic-generating strategy in conversation is provided by Geluykens (1991, 1993). His schematic representation is given below, viz.

(10) -Stage 1 (A): topic-introduction (bare NP = referent)
-Stage 2 (B): acknowledgement signal
-Stage 3 (A): topic-establishment (second mention of referent)
(Geluykens, 1991: 186)

Geluykens examines various structures which might initiate this typical process. Representatives of them are left-dislocation, *there*-construction, questions, etc. For example:

(11) A1: maybe yet of course it'll take her time to get [?] into it
B1: m. is term OK –
A2: what
B2: is term all -*right*
A3: *yes* it seems all right so far. (…) (S.7.1.c16.2)

(12) -Stage 1 (B1): topic-introduction (first attempt) (Q1)
-Stage 2 (A2): request for repetition
-Stage 3 (B2): topic-introduction (second attempt) (Q2)
-Stage 4 (A3): topic-establishment (response)
(Geluykens, 1991: 191)

Here, a new referent is introduced as a potential topic through asking a question about it. Regardless of whether the discourse is written or spoken, what is common among

the above studies is that the a topic seems to require introduction and establishment and to permint continuation and termination.

5.4.2.2 Topic introduction

As seen in 4.5.1 of Chapter 4, topic-introduction is a simple process of bringing up an entity at the beginning or in the course of the conversation. It is quite natural to assume that it takes a considerable amount of effort to appeal to or attract the hearer's attention to a newly introduced referent at the early stage. This assumption may very well be the reason for the use of *–isscanha* at the beginning of a discourse. Let's take, for instance, the following exchange between two female classmates.

(13) A: saelo o-n sensaengnim isscanha, swuhak sensaengnim
newly come-MOD teacher:HON DM math teacher:HON
'The new teacher, you know, the math teacher?'

B: ung
yeah
'Yeah.'

A: ku sensaegnim kuntey chongkak ilae
that teacher:HON DM not:married be:QUOT
'He is not married (yet).'

B: cengmal. myechsal itey?
really how old be:IE
'Really! How old is (he)?' (CD)

The familiarity between the two participants presupposes that they share a great deal of common ground on what is being talked about. This common ground leads speaker A to take for granted that listener B knows who she is talking about. Based on this assumption, Speaker A embarks upon a topical referent *saelo on sensaengnim* 'teacher

who came recently' straightforwardly into a conversation. In spite of the familiarity, the listener might still be caught by surprise if she has something else on her mind. To ensure that she will turn off that something else and begin to be aware of what is being talked about, speaker A adds the discourse marker *–isscanha* plus a further specification on the topical referent by 'math teacher.' Evidence for *–isscanha* as a pragmatic mechanism to obtain the addressee's attention to a newly introduced referent can be found in speaker B's response with the backchannelling 'ung,' which acknowledges her attention to the topical referent as what the speaker is talking about.

5.4.2.3 Topic establishment

As seen in 5.4.2.1, topic establishment simply means the restatement of a topic event or referent previously introduced in discourse. For example,

(14) A: kholorado – nun ettae – yo?
Colorado – TP look:how-Q
'What is Colorado like?'

B: kholorado$_i$ – nun isscanhayo, 0_i santo manh – ko 0_i nwunto manhi
Colorado – TP DM mountain a lot – and snow much
o - ko, 0_i tto mwe – issci
come-and too what- be:IE
'You know what, Colorado has lots of mountains, (there) it snows very often and what else (there)?

C: 0_i skhi – nun tha po – si – ess – yo?
ski – TP ride AUX-HON-PST-Q
'Have you ever skied (there)?'

B: 0_i kihoy – ka eps – ess – neyyo.
chance – NM not:be-PST-IE
'(I had) no chance (to do that).' (CD)

The exchange in (13) is a part of three-party conversation in which the participants talk about their personal experiences in the States. At the very beginning of the

conversation, speaker A uses the form of a question, which is a strategy to introduce a new referent into the discourse (Geluykens, 1991; Kupervelt, 1995). *kholorado* 'Colorado' is posed as a potential topic by speaker A. In her response to the question, speaker B repeats the referent 'Colorado' immediately followed by *–isscanha.* Through the repetition of the referent *kholorado* 'Colorado,' speaker B establishes 'Colorado' as a topic. More importantly, she follows *kholorado* with a *–isscanha* to ensure that the topic is established for her audience as well by calling their attention to it. The establishment of the topic is confirmed by the appearance of the zero anaphors in the following discourse segment represented by the 0_i's – i.e. the failure of appearance of any other forms.

5.4.2.4 Topic seeking

Topic seeking is the process of eliciting a topic at the very beginning of a conversation. Especially, the speaker wants to introduce into the discourse a new theme/topic which he/she knows what it is but can't easily come up with a term for it. However, the new topical matter is believed by the speaker to be known to the hearer. This initiating process is what we call topic seeking. The following portion of a conversation is between a mother and her young son. They are looking for a book the son wants to read for his homework. The son, a preschooler, wants to talk about a book about which he thinks both he and his mom already know because they read it before. But he has forgot the name of the book.

(15) A1: emma, kuke issci
mom that DM
'Mom, you know that (i.e., something both of us already know).'

B1: mwe
what
'What (are you talking about)?'

A2: kuke issci, ledu wen ilehkey mantu – nun ke
that DM red one like this make – MOD BND.N.
'You know that, which is made in this way.'

B2: ah~~ Miste Kwukhi beyke
ah~ Mr. Cookie baker
'Ah~ Mr. Cookie Baker.'

A3: uh~ mace
uh right
'That's right.' (CD)

The first three turns, A1 through A2, form the topic-seeking process. No specific referent appears. As the first step, supposing that the hearer (mother) is familiar with what he wants to talk about, the speaker (son) uses the pronoun *kuke* 'that' in A1 to search for the identity of the referent. The attachment of *–isscanha* is understood as a linguistic strategy to indicate his intention to use this unnamed referent as the topic by calling the hearer's attention to it. The appearance of *–isscanha* in this case makes it explicit that the new referent, even though not verbally identified, is to be the topic of the conversation. Speaker B, the mother, acknowledges her attention with an information-seeking question about the referent.

Faced with this situation, speaker A in A2 (son) repeats what he said. This time, he adds a further specification of the referent, accompanied by questioning, which helps evoke the hearer's interactional identification of the referent. The repetition of *–isscanha* in A2 serves not only as an attention-caller, but also a more active function to solicit involvement on the prompt of the elaboration "which is made in this way." Specifically, the elaboration is more easily connected to the preceding

segment through the use of *–isscanha*, which directs the attentional focus to the following informative portion.

The whole topic-generating process in (15) can be summarized as follows: a) topic-seeking (pre-introduction), b) backchannelling for further information, c) topic-seeking (introductory stage) and d) confirmation.

5.4.2.5 Topic shift

Unlike topic change, which moves from an old to a new topic, topic shift "involves moving from one topic to a related topic or from one aspect of the current topic to another" (Stentrom, 1994: 156). This is the case where the shifted topic is clearly related to the current topic of conversation. Simply stated, the marker of a topic shift indicates a change in the speaker's orientation toward what is being said, for instance, from narrative to evaluative mood. In this sense, *–isscanha* is also used to preface topic shift. (16) is an example.

(16)
A1: ene – lul totaechey myechkaena sseyo?
language-ACC on earth how many use: Q
'How many languages are used on earth?'

B1: um, pwucoke - lul ssuko, ee kutaumey yenge …
um, tribe language-ACC use:and, eh next English
'Um, (they) use a tribe language and Englis…'

A2: pwucoke
tribe language
'Tribe language'

B2: han neykae - nun hanun ke kathayo
about 4- at least do:MOD BON.N look like:IE
'It looks like (they) speak about 4 languages.'

A3: neykae – lul ta hantan maliyeyyo?
four – ACC all do:MOD BON.N: be:Q
'(Is it true) they speak all 4 languages?'

B3: kumpang haeyo. pwucokena maltul – i ecok – i
soon do:IE. tribe language:with language:PL-NM languagefamily-NM
pisushako kekise kekin kes kaththeyyo
similar:and very close BON.N looks like:IE
'It is easy to speak these languages, because they belong to close language families.'

A4: enecwungey isscanhayo hakkyoeyse kongsilcekulo sayonghanun
among languages DM school: at officially use:do:MOD
ene – nun mweyeyyo
language-TP what:be:IE
'Among these languages, what is the official language at school."

B4: yengecoyo
English:IE
' (It) is English.'

A5: kukey hakkyo – eyes sensaengnim – i sayonghanun ene yeyyo?
that school-LOC teacher - NM use:MOD language be:Q
'Is that the language school teachers use at school?'

B5: yenge, yenge, hakmwun hanun salam – tul – un yenge – lul ssucyo.
English, English, study do:MOD people-PL-TP English-ACC use:IE
yenge – lul haeya meko sanikka
English-ACC do: RES eat: and live:IE
'Those who are involved in academic research use English. (You must speak) English to live a decent life.'

A6: kulaeyo, kulem yenge – ka ceyil eneney
really, then English-NM first language: IE
'Really, then (it sounds like) English seems to be the first language.'
(CD)

A and B have been talking about B's fieldwork in Africa. In this portion of the conversation, the topic is on *ene* 'language' used by people in the area where B did the fieldwork. More specifically, the first portion of the conversation, A1 through B3, is about 'how many languages are used there.' The participants, for a while, are

involved in identifying the languages used in B's fieldwork area. In A4, this earlier topic of 'how many languages' in Africa has developed into a related topic of 'what language is used as a medium at school.' Here, *–isscanha* is used at the moment of shift to another topic. The use of *–isscanha* is accompanied by a recognizable, though brief, pause, which "indicates that the thematic field has become less dominant and active" (Maynard, 1989: 67). The loss of one thematic unit presupposes the introduction of a new theme into the discourse. At this point, the linguistic device *–isscanha*, along with the non-linguistic signal 'pause,' is used to point out a reorientation of the discourse in progress. In other words, this marker has an effect on the new thematic development of the discourse, carrying out a thematic reorientation. If *–isscanha* does not typically by itself shift a topic, it accompanies the topic shift by providing a strong signal that the speaker is calling for attention to what is to come next.

5.4.2.6 Listing of topics

While topic shift designates a change from an old topic to a new but related topic, the listing of topics deals with the delineation of more than one sub-topic under the same theme in a discourse. For operational purposes, this may be called an effort to categorize the items in a list.

In the following example, the participants are talking about 'garage sales' in general at first. Then, one of the participants tries to illustrate the bargains one may have at garage sales by recounting the items he has bought. These items thus become sub-topics under the theme 'garage sales.' They need to be clearly marked as such,

i.e., listed one after the other, which the participants think characterizes the most American-like custom. This portion of a conversation goes on to the price of stuff at the garage sale. That is, we can purchase the stuff we like at an exceptionally low price.

(17) A1: keraci saeil - i cohun ken, mikwukceki – n kes - ul
garage sale - NM like BND.N American:be-MOD BND.N-ACC
manhi sa - l swu issta – nun ke - cyo
many buy-MOD BND.N can:FE-MOD BND.N – IE
'What I like about 'garage sale' is that we can buy a lot of American-style items or things.'

B1: mikwukceki - n ke kacang ssakey
American:be – MOD BND.N most cheap
'American-style stuff at the cheapest price.'

A2: kunikka ilpwul
so:because one dollar
'So(I bought this is only) a dollar.'

B2: kukehkey ssa - yo
that much cheap-IE
'Is that cheap?'

A3: ceki khep patchim isscyo
there cup coaster DM
'(You can see) cup coaster over there.'

B3: ye, po - yeyo
yes, see- IE
'Yes, (I can) see (it).'

A4: ce - kes - to ilpwul
that-BND.N –too one dollar
'That's a dollar.'

B4: kulaeyo
like:that:Q
'Really?'

A5: yeki khep cokuman - ke twukae isscyo
here cup little - BND.N two DM
'Here, (you can see) two small cups.'

B5: etise ssa - ss - eyo kekise, katheun tey - se
where buy-PST-Q there, same place-LOC
'Where did (you) buy (them). It is the same place.'

A6: khep twukae – to ilpwul
cup two - even one dollar
'Even two cups for one dollar.' (CD)

The first 4 lines, A1 through B2, deal with garage sales in general. In A3, speaker A introduces a new referent. To indicate that the new referent is related to their general talk, speaker A uses the marker *–isscanha* to ensure B's attention. Similarly, in A5, he uses another *–isscanha* after the introduction of another new referent. By doing so, he highlights both referents and presents them on an equal footing under the larger theme – garage sales. The two sub-topics thus appear to be 'listed' under a higher topic.

5.4.3 Summary

In sections 5.4.2.1 – 6, we have looked at the introduction, establishment, seeking, shift and listing of topic(s). All of them are functions of *–isscanha*. We find, however, that the different 'functions' all stem from the basic property of 'attention-calling.' They can in fact be easily derived from the basic property in conjunction with the discourse context in which the discourse particle occurs.

5.5 Distinction Between *–nuntey* and *–isscanha*

Before closing the present chapter, it is of interest to compare the two discourse markers *–nuntey* and *–isscanha*. In our discussions, *–nuntey* is characterized

as NFM for its basic meaning. Derived from this basic function are various actual interpretations such as 'topic-introduction, topic-resumption, topic-continuation, and topic-negotiation.' On the other hand, *–isscanha* is considered to have 'attention-calling' as its basic property. The actual interpretations of this particle include 'topic-introduction, topic-establishment, topic-seeking, topic-shift, and listing of topics.' Based on these observations, we can say that both markers are clearly and crucially associated with what might be called 'topic activation.' The adoption of this term is due to the functional roles of these markers to maximize the process of thematic development or reformulation – viz. the process-oriented structuring of discourse.

In spite of their functional similarity (i.e., topic activation), they are obviously not identical. This is evident when we look at their topic organizing functions other than topic-introduction.[9] For example, they may appear next to each other in discourse.

(18)
A: eceys pam kkwum – ul kkwe – ss –nuntey, isscanha sensaeng – nim
yesterday night dream – ACC dream-PST-NFM DM teacher – HON
hako deythu ha – ess – ta
together go out do –PST-FE
'You know, I had a dream last night. Guess what? I went out with (our) teacher.'

B: mwe? cengmal
what really
'What? Really!' (CD)

Leaving out either *–nuntey* or *–isscanha* doesn't render what A says in (17) ungrammatical or inappropriate, but it would reduce the smoothness of what A says

[9] It is clear why both of these markers are involved in topic-introduction, if we take into account the basic meaning of each. Both NFM and attention-calling presuppose that there is information yet to come.

and increase the suddenness of either of the events. In other words, the narrator would not have given enough warning to prepare the listener for the news. To see their fundamental differences, let's look at the examples in (18) and (19) below.

(19) (Talking about the cake she likes)
khaeik - isscanha, cengmal mass – isstula. khrim – to manko…
cake DM really taste – good: IE. cream – also plenty…
'You know, the cake is really delicious. It has plenty of cream…

The use of *–isscanha* here first evokes the hearer's attention and thereby enables the speaker to hold the floor and keep continuing with her turn. Thus, it is speaker-oriented. On the other hand, the marker *–nuntey*, as a NFM, is more appropriately used to invite the hearer's involvement in the current speech act, viz.

(20) A: cemsim – ul mekeya – kess – nuntey /*isscanha
lunch – ACC eat – MOD – NFM
'(We) have to have lunch. (What do you think?)'

B: hambege – to kwayncanh – untey
hamburger-even ok - NFM
'Even hamburger is ok (with me. How about you?). (CD)

It is therefore mainly addressee-oriented. But, of course, *–nuntey* may also be used to add more comment to what it introduces. For example, in the case of (19), the speaker A might follow with a suggestion, such as *pwunsik ettae* 'How about some snack?' Yet, on the other hand, it is not possible for *–isscanha* to end an utterance, just because it is not logical to invite the listener's attention and say nothing else.

5.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have discussed the discourse marker *–isscanha* in relation to the dynamic aspects of topic progression. We first examined the nature of this marker in terms of its compositional meaning, dividing it into two atomic parts: *–iss* and –

canha. Traditionally, *–iss* has been regarded as an independent verb (more specifically, an existential verb) with the primitive semantic interpretation of 'be,' – covering the areas 'stay,' 'exist,' 'be located,' and 'have' (Martin, 1992: 218). In a similar vein, *–canha* has been considered a suffix contracted from the combination *–ci* 'COMP' + *–anh* 'not.' Its meaning is related to "high expectation" (Lee, 1999) and "the speaker's subjective evaluation, moving toward an interactional function and a speaker-centered situation" (Kawanishi and Sohn, 1993: 552).

As a combination of these primitive semantic elements, the use of *–isscanha* falls under two categories: content and pragmatic. The former is related to the existential verb *–iss* and occurs at the end of a sentence. It is able to make contributions to the propositional meaning. The latter is what we treat as a discourse marker in the sense that its function is pragmatically motivated and communicatively oriented.

The aim of the present study is to explore the nature of *–isscanha* as a discourse marker in terms of topic organization. For this purpose, we began our discussion by proposing 'attention-calling' as the basic property of the discourse marker *–isscanha*. Simply put, this means that the speaker uses *–isscanha* to draw the hearer's attention to the subsequent informative segment, i.e., treating what precedes *–isscanha* as the topical portion of the discourse segment.

Based on the fundamental tenets of topic organization, we set out an empirical study of the discourse marker *–isscanha,* centered around topic-related conversations. We find that the basic meaning 'attention-calling' of *–isscanha* interacts with

contextual forms to produce several interpretations. This dynamic flow of discourse interactions can be schematically described in the following manner.

Basic Property	>	Derived Functions	>	Structural Interpretations
'Attention-calling'		(a) Connecting to preceding or following text. (b) A new referent/state/event becomes a new topic.		Topic introduction Topic establishment Topic seeking Topic shift Listing of topics

Briefly stated, the speaker uses the basic property of attention-calling to emphasize the preceding (occasionally, the following) portion of an utterance because of its importance in relation to an upcoming message. The various structural interpretations depend largely on the stage of the topical matter with which the discourse marker *–isscanha* co-occurs. On the whole, this schematic relation is intended to show that various actual interpretations of *–isscanha* are derivable from its basic role 'attention-calling.'

Finally, a comparison is made between the two discourse markers: *–nuntey* (in Chapter 4) and *–isscanha* with respect to topic-organization. In our investigation, both are clearly associated with topic-activation. This is attributable to the fact that these markers maximize the process of thematic development in the following discourse. However, these markers differ in participant orientation. The marker *–isscanha* is speaker-oriented and *–nuntey* is mainly hearer-oriented, though it does not exclude the speaker and may even be speaker-oriented. Both of them, however, help increase cohesion between discourse segments.

CHAPTER SIX
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Summary of the Research

This study examines topic phenomena in the context of Korean. The examination is based on a discourse functional approach. At the very beginning, we set out two goals for the present study. One is to provide a unified explanation of different topical expressions by using Chu's markedness system. The other is to investigate the functional roles of some discourse markers (*–nuntey* and *–isschan*) in terms of topic-organizing processes in discourse. Within the discourse/functional framework, our underlying assumption is that the choice of topic expressions is a dynamic process interactively determined in the flow of discourse. Through an examination of naturally produced data, both spoken and written, we can refine previous research and reach a better understanding of the same phenomenon.

Prior to the pursuance of these two specific goals, a brief review on previous studies is provided in Chapter Two. First of all, most previous studies on Korean topic have centered on the morphological marker *–nun,* as it is generally equated with topic realization. We point out that previous studies have dealt with only one function of *–nun,* which appears sentence-initially. They did not take into consideration the non-initial *–nun* carrying contrastive focus. Furthermore, it is also pointed out that delimiters and ZA have been likewise treated in topic-related studies, following the same route as in the treatment of *–nun*, without much consideration of their specific

functions. Based on our critical review some specific questions are raised for the present study. They are: 1) Should all topic expressions (e.g. *–nun*-marked, delimiters-marked and ZA) be considered equal in their function and in the information they carry? 2) How can we account for the fact that a *nun*-marked topic sometimes can carry a simultaneous focus? That is, both a contrastive focus and topic are encoded in the same nominal expression. 3) If a topic is a discourse concept, are there other ways to encode topical processes in a discourse. For this purpose, some other discourse markers (e.g. *–nuntey*, and *-isscanha*) and their topic-organizing functions are examined.

In Chapter Three, a new system is reviewed, where Chu (1998, 2000) establishes a conceptual distinction between marked and unmarked topics, which have generally been lumped together under the non-discriminative term 'topic.' The former is characterized by Chu as more prominent than the latter in terms of linguistic form and informative value. For example, marked topics appear at the sentence-initial position syntactically and are accompanied by certain markers morphologically, whereas unmarked topics lack such properties. In addition, the concept of marked topic is useful in the sense that it can offer some insight into how focus reading sometimes co-exists with topic reading, but not at other times. Equally importantly, marked and unmarked topics work differently with regard to two discourse functions: aboutness vs. linking. The former is the most basic characteristic of topic shared by both the marked and the unmarked, while the latter is only for unmarked topics. In our discussion, the importance of their discourse functions are specially noted.

On the basis of these tenets, we set out an empirical study on Korean topic structures in discourse. We argue that a *nun*-marked item with contrast is more marked

than other topic candidates, since it is heavily coded and high in informative value. This explains why it is capable of carrying a focus. Then, we go on to examine the non-contrastive *–nun*, which is regarded as a pure topic marker. It is less heavily marked and possesses a lower informative value than the *–nun* with contrast.

The *–nun*-marked topic with a contrastive meaning is found to be most highly marked with the highest informative value, followed by the D-topic with lower informative value and finally by the other *–nun*-marked topic, which has the lowest informative value. The adoption of markedness provides us with a clear explanation of various topic expressions in Korean.

Our examination of unmarked topic focuses on the lowest end of the form, ZA. Unmarked topics lack any specific morpho-syntactic devices. Its major function is to provide linking between clauses. To confirm that Korean ZA serves a linking function, the topic chain is taken up as a discourse unit. The Korean ZA proves to serve a central function of linking clauses in topic chains.

In Chapter Four, the discourse marker *–nuntey* is discussed in terms of a dynamic process of topic-generation. A review of the previous studies reveals that what is common among them is that *–nuntey* is treated at two different levels. From a structural perspective, it is dealt with under two categories, 'connective' and 'sentence-final ender.' From a semantic perspective, it is labeled as 'circumstantial,' just because it is hard to pin down the exact nature of *–nuntey*.

In view of the versatility of *–nuntey* in use, the study accounts for its structural functions of topic organization in pragmatic terms. We find that the primary property of *–nuntey* is to mark the 'non-finality' of a discourse unit (thus, non-finality marker or

NFM). From this basic property, other pragmatic functions may be derived. Depending on the discourse context, the speaker may be indicating that he/she has more to say, i.e. more information is to come. Or the speaker may be inviting the hearer's interaction.

In terms of structure, what precedes *–nuntey* may be interpreted as a topic, since whatever follows it is always ABOUT it. On the other hand, differences in topic status may lead to different interpretations of the uses of *–nuntey*: introduction, resumption, continuation, and negotiation. When the topic is in the form of a clause, *-nuntey* may appear to be a connective within a sentence. The overall network of *–nuntey* is schematically represented as follows:

Basic Property	>	Derived functions	>	Structural Interpretations
Non-finality marking		To signal more information is yet to come		Topic introduction Topic resumption
		To invite hearer's interaction		Topic continuation Topic negotiation

In a similar vein, Chapter Five is also designed to investigate *–isscanha* as a topic-organizer. Semantically, *–isscanha* is used as an existential verb at the end of a sentence. Pragmatically, *–isscanha* functions to attract 'attention' to what immediately follows the utterance it occurs in. The assertion of the existence of a state of affairs and calling-attention to what follows combine to mark a topic-comment structure at the interclausal level. It is in this sense that *–isscanha* has been labeled as a topic marker. Whether it helps to establish or introduce a topic or to shift from one topic to another, etc. again depends on the discourse context. The framework of *–isscanha* is schematically represented as follows:

Basic Property	>	Derived Functions	>	Structural Interpretations
'Attention-getting'		(a) Connecting to preceding or following text. (b) A new referent/state/event becomes a new theme.		Topic introduction Topic establishment Topic seeking Topic shift Listing of topics

6.2 Implications and Limitations

At the very beginning of this research, it is pointed out that the traditional study of topic structure has primarily focused on sentence-level analyses. As a result, the their explanation and understanding on topic phenomenon have been limited in terms of the discourse nature of topic structure. With the development of discourse/functional methodology, however, the study of topical structure has been expanded from the intra-sentential level to the inter-sentential level. In doing so, we are able to see that the topic structure is dynamic in nature in the sense that it is determined by interactional processes in discourse. The present study provides language-specific evidence regarding the motivations for topic phenomenon.

More specifically, the theoretical importance of these results can be summarized as follows: For our first assumption, first, we argue against the notion that different forms of topic might be subsumed under a single function. We also argue that topics have two distinctive functions in a wider view of discourse perspective. As a result, we provide an explanation for why a *nun*-marked topic has a focus reading and why any phrase can get a topic reading. For our second assumption, we show that *–nuntey* and *–isscanha* as discourse markers are directly or indirectly associated with topic-organizing processes in discourse.

As in any research, there are limitations to this study as well. First of all, the corpora used in the study are limited in size. To see the intricacies of the interactional nature of topic phenomenon, future study should be based on a much larger amount of data for quantitative analysis.

Another limitation is that only a few number of discourse markers (*–nuntey* and *–isscanha*) are the target of analysis for this research. Considering that Korean is a discourse-oriented language, it would be an interesting project for future research to study the role of a variety of other discourse markers in the flow of discourse.

Finally, the present study does not concern itself with narrative structure as a whole. In terms of the relation between form and function, it would be significant to see how topic status and participant realization (NP, pronoun, ZA) interact across a text. Furthermore, in a narrative discourse, it might be interesting to investigate the operational relation between the use of discourse markers and the realization of discourse units such as topic chain.

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August 2001

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